ETUDES HELLENIQUES

HELLENIC STUDIES

GREEK EDUCATION IN THE DIASPORA
L' ÉDUCATION HELLÉNOPHONE DANS LA DIASPORA GRECQUE

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Études helléniques/Hellenic Studies was published for the first time in spring 1983. In that first issue we wrote:

Research and dialogue in the social sciences as such have never been in the forefront of the mainstream Greek society. A variety of reasons have been offered for this seeming lack of interest in the social research field, the primary being some kind of "socio-political conspiracy " on the part of the conservative elites that have governed Greece almost exclusively since Independence. As a matter of fact, it is not accidental that neither sociology, psychology nor education faculties exist in Greek universities, where systematic research on political and historical issues has been minimal. Numerous scholars have pointed out that in-depth research and analyses of the different socio-political issues prevailing in Greek society have been repeatedly avoided or even stifled altogether. Only very few instances exist where individual efforts have challenged this traditional indifference towards unraveling the mechanisms and processes underlying the very structures and functioning of the entire Greek social apparatus. In addition, the mere fact that Greece spends the least money in terms of percentage of GNP of all European and developing nations for research is one more indication of the low priority placed on social sciences investigation.

On the other hand, as has been documented throughout the existing literature, almost "another Greece" exists outside Greece proper. The so-called Apodimoi Hellenes or the Greek diaspora may be found all over the globe, and more so in the large industrialized countries of the Western world, such as the USA, Canada, Australia, West Germany, and Sweden, to name a few. Research and social interest about the millions of Greek immigrants on the part of "metropolitan Greece" has been virtually non-existent, with the exception of a few unsystematic descriptive accounts for mainly administrative purposes. Whatever studies do exist about Greek immigrants around the world are the exclusive work of scholars of the Greek diaspora and organizations of Greek immigrants themselves, or even, in some instances, of non Greek scholars working within the overall field of ethnic relations. This trend, towards investigating different ethnic parameters, has intensified over the last twenty years or so among the immigrant-receiving societies.

By acknowledging and sharing the positive contribution of all efforts of Greek and non-Greek scholars who have somehow been, involved in the studying of Greek issues around the globe, Études helléniques/Hellenic

Studies aims to offer one more concrete challenge within the social sciences field. Études helléniques/Hellenic Studies begins its publication with the sincere and ambitious goal of becoming the international academic forum of dialogue and exchange of ideas among all scholars dealing with the multifaceted issues prevailing among the Hellenes of the entire world.

Of course since 1983 much water has flowed under the bridge. As a matter of fact, in Greece progress has been made in numerous fields of study and research in the social sciences, especially in sociology, psychology, education and political science. There is now an openness within the Greek universities. Research institutions have also appeared since 1983. Nevertheless in all these fields much has yet to be accomplished in order to go further and be compared on an equal footing with other developed countries.

In 1985 the publication of this journal was interrupted for various reasons, but we returned even stronger in 1994. Our goal as set in 1983 was to become an international academic forum for dialogue and the exchange of ideas among all scholars dealing with the multifaceted issues of Hellenic studies (culture, society, politics, economy, diaspora, etc.). We still have the same mission. In fact, our publication in English and French has always sought to pursue the cooperation and contribution of the finest experts on Greek issues inside and outside Greece proper. This goal also remains.

After so many years of publishing by the Centre for Hellenic Studies and Research Canada-KEEK, we are pleased that as of this issue we are entering into a new era in cooperation with the Centre of Intercultural and Migration Studies-EDIAMME of the Department of Primary Education of the University of Crete and the Post-Graduate Program (Cultural, Economic and International Relations in the Mediterranean), of the Department of Mediterranean Studies at the University of the Aegean. This trilateral cooperation will permit us to continue publishing this academic journal, which has become an international reference on issues of Hellenic studies. With a new élan, we will continue focussing on the same ambitious goal - provide an international academic forum for dialogue and the exchange of ideas among all scholars researching the multifaceted field of Hellenic studies.

Stephanos Constantinides

NOTE DE REDACTION

Études helléniques/Hellenic Studies a vu le jour au printemps 1983. Dans cette première édition nous écrivions à l'époque:

La recherche dans le domaine des sciences sociales n'a jamais connu de développement sérieux en Grèce : même aujourd'hui, c'est un domaine sous-développé auquel on accorde peu d'importance. Il y a plusieurs raisons qui expliquent ce phénomène, mais l'explication principale réside dans le fait que les élites conservatrices qui sont depuis l'indépendance aux commandes de la société grecque ont toujours banni les sciences sociales, les considérant comme subversives. Ce n 'est pas un hasard s'il n 'existe pas au sein des universités grecques de département ou de faculté de sociologie, de psychologie ou d'éducation, alors que même en histoire et en science politique les recherches ont été et restent toujours très limitées. D'aucuns soutiennent que les recherches et analyses approfondies sur les problèmes de la société hellénique furent exclues de propos délibéré. Les institutions spécialisées dans de telles recherches se font encore attendre. Par ailleurs, la Grèce est celui parmi les pays européens et les pays développés en général qui consacre le plus bas pourcentage de son produit national brut à l'investissement dans le domaine de la recherche: c 'est encore un indice que la recherche dans le domaine des sciences sociales ne constitue pas une priorité.

De l'autre côté, il faut signaler l'existence d'une "autre Grèce" en dehors des frontières nationales, constituée par les Grecs de la diaspora-Apodimoi Hellènes. Les Grecs de la diaspora sont dispersés à travers le monde. On les trouve plus particulièrement dans les pays industrialisés, aux Etats-Unis, au Canada, en Australie, en Allemagne de l'Ouest, en Suède, pour ne nommer que quelques pays. La Grèce métropolitaine a jusqu' à maintenant manifesté peu d'intérêt pour la recherche en sciences sociales concernant les millions d'immigrants grecs; il n 'existe qu 'un petit nombre de rapports descriptifs et non systématiques rédigés pour des raisons administratives. Les études existantes sur les immigrants grecs à travers le monde sont le travail exclusif de chercheurs grecs de la diaspora, d'organismes relevant des immigrants eux-mêmes, ou même, dans quelques cas des chercheurs non-grecs travaillant dans le domaine des relations ethniques en général. Cette tendance de l'étude des différents paramètres ethniques s'est intensifiée durant les vingt dernières années au sein des sociétés d'accueil.

De cette façon, en faisant connaître les contributions positives des spécialistes grecs et non-grecs qui se sont penchés sur de telles questions, la revue Études helléniques/Hellenic Studies s'est proposée de relever un défi de taille dans le domaine des sciences sociales. Les Études helléniques/Hellenic

Studies ont inauguré leur publication en se fixant comme but de devenir un forum académique international de dialogue et d'échange d'idées parmi les universitaires et chercheurs qui s'occupent des Hellènes à travers le monde.

Naturellement depuis 1983 beaucoup d' eau est passée sous les ponts. Il est en effet vrai que depuis cette date on a pu observer un progrès certain dans nombre de secteurs de recherche et d'étude tels la sociologie,la psychologie,l'éducation et la science politique. Il y a actuellement une ouverture sur ces secteurs dans les universités grecques. Quelques institutions de recherche ont aussi fait leur apparition depuis 1983.Néanmoins beaucoup de choses restent à faire dans ces domaines afin que la Grèce puisse se comparer convenablement aux autres pays développés.

Pour différentes raisons nous avons interrompu notre édition en 1985, mais nous sommes revenus en 1994. Notre objectif fixé en 1983, de faire des *Études helléniques/Hellenic Studies* un forum académique international de dialogue et d'échange d'idées parmi les universitaires et les chercheurs qui s'occupent de l'hellénisme (culture, société, politique, économie,relations internationales, diaspora, etc.) est toujours actuel. De plus, en publiant ses textes en français et en anglais, les *Études helléniques/Hellenic Studies* ont voulu favoriser la coopération internationale des experts des problèmes grecs, objectif qui reste aussi toujours d'actualité.

Aujourd'hui après tant d'années de publication de cette revue académique par le *Centre de recherches helléniques Canada-KEEK,* nous sommes heureux d'entrer dans une nouvelle ère et de procéder à partir de ce numéro à une collaboration avec les Universités grecques de Crète et de la Mer Egée. Plus particulièrement nous allons à partir de ce numéro publier *Études helléniques/Hellenic Studies* avec le Centre d'études interculturelles et de l'immigration-EDIAMME du Département d'Education Primaire de l'Université de Crète et le Programme d'études supérieures de deuxième et troisième cycle, «Sciences politiques, économiques, et relations internationales dans la Méditerranée», Département d'études méditerranéennes de l'Université de la Mer Egée. Cette coopération tripartite va nous permettre de donner un nouvel élan à une revue académique qui a pris depuis longtemps sa place dans la bibliographie internationale et sert de référence pour les études helléniques. Nos objectifs restent toujours les mêmes: offrir un forum académique international de dialogue et d'échange d'idées et exceller dans le domaine des études grecques.

Stephanos Constantinides

The Greek Education in the Diaspora

Michael Damanakis*

The history of Greek-language education in the diaspora is an integral part of the Diaspora itself. In that sense, the studies in the present volume may be regarded as being a contribution to research into the modern Greek diaspora, which extends from the mid-15th century to the present day.

In particular, the involuntary and often forced removal of Greek populations from the dominions of the Ottoman Empire, mainly to countries bordering the Black Sea and in the trans-Caucasus, led to the creation of Greek communities in those areas. These communities are examined in the present volume by A. Chatzipanayiotidis.

In contrast, the emigration of workers from Greece to third countries over the period from the late 19th century to the 1970s led to the emergence of the migrant communities existing today in host countries such as the USA, Canada, Australia, Great Britain, Germany, Argentina, Egypt, South Africa and other African countries. These are examined in the present volume by N. Nikolidakis, S. Constantinides, A. Tamis, M. Louca-Gramm, A. Krystallidou and M. Damanakis / M. Kanavakis.

To this day, the accumulated historical experience of Greeks as regards their social, political and economic organization outside their particular "maternal centre" continues to influence their organization and relationship with the centre, Greece. For all the observed differences, community organizations such as Civil Communities, Church Communities, Local Origin Associations (Brotherhoods) and Parents' Associations are present to a greater or lesser extent in all communities.

As far as Greek-language education is concerned, a decisive role is played by Civil and Church Communities, Parents' Associations, the Greek State and the host countries. Significant differences are observable from country to country with regard both to the institutions involved and to the forms Greek-language education takes.

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As can be seen in the summary table below, in addition to state-run services operated by the country of origin and the host country (columns D and E), the Church, Civil Communities, community organizations and even individuals may act as institutions for Greek-language education.

Particularly in the USA, the Greek Orthodox Church of America is the main institution. By contrast, state-run services are as a rule the main institution in Europe. In the former Soviet Republics, most initiatives for the founding of schools (Greek language classes) are taken by community institutions (associations, Greek club federations, societies). That being said, there are also state-run schools (in Armenia, Georgia, Russia and the Ukraine), at which Greek language classes have been officially included in the timetable.

Greek-Language Education: Institutions and Forms

Types of Education and Recipients	Typology of Institutions				
	Private Individuals	Legal entities (e.g. Associations)	The Church	State-run services in country of origin	residence
	A	B	C	D	E
1. Pre-school education					
1.1 Greek-only pre-primary schools	+	+	+	+	
1.2 Mixed pre-primary schools		+	+	+	+
2. Primary and Secondary Education					
2.1 Greek-only (private) schools		+		+	
2.2 Daily (bilingual) schools for Greek-language and / or other-language pupils		+	+		+
2.3 Greek language classes for Greek-language pupils (in school timetable, afternoon, Saturday schools etc.)	+	+	+	+	+
2.4 Ordinary classes in host country for Greek-language or other-language pupils					+
2.5 Ordinary classes in host country only for other-language pupils					+
3. European schools				+	+

The foundation of Greek-language schools by private individuals is a rare phenomenon, mainly encountered in Australia, Canada and former Soviet Union countries.

Precisely who or what acts as an institution for Greek-language education and which form is the most common in each country depends on the particular circumstances applying in each host country, educational policy vis-à-vis ethnic groups within its territory and, of course, the historical course of the Greek presence in each country, as well as on the educational policy adopted by the Greek state at any given time.

For example, day or bilingual schools are encountered in major urban centres with a large Greek presence, such as New York, Chicago, Montreal, Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Johannesburg, Berlin, provided that they are permitted by the legislation in the state, country or province of residence.

In general terms, institutions for Greek-language education can be divided into three categories:

a) education services provided by the host country / country of residence;

b) education services provided by the country of origin;

c) community institutions.

However, the institutions that hold the fate of Greek-language education in their hands and guarantee the continued presence of the language in the diaspora are the community organizations and the Church.

The types of Greek-language education included in the table are in actual fact groups of different forms of education. For example, the third type (2.3.), primary and secondary education, consists of:

a) classes incorporated into the normal timetable in host country schools (the exception);

b) classes incorporated into the normal timetable but taking place in the afternoon (a common form);

c) classes taking place in the afternoon, outside the education system in the country of residence, usually under the aegis of community institutions (the most common form);

d) classes taking place in the afternoon, supported both by host country education authorities and institutions and by community institutions;

e) Saturday schools.

It should be stressed that the most common form of Greek-language education in the diaspora is that provided by afternoon or Saturday schools, and that community organizations themselves are the institution usually responsible for them.

A further common form of Greek-language education is provided by the so-called *day schools.* There are schools which operate either in the morning or all day on weekdays, and cater fully to their pupils' compulsory education; whereas, Greek language classes operate on a supplementary basis and do not normally award academic qualifications.

Day schools are most commonly encountered in the USA, Canada and Australia. Similar schools do also exist elsewhere, e.g., Brussels, London, in major cities in Germany, and in the Sudan, Ethiopia and South Africa, but go by different names.

By and large, these day schools offer a bilingual curriculum, and could be referred to as *bilingual day schools.* The exact curriculum and timetable at such schools depends on the institutional and socio-economic circumstances applying in each case. For example, day schools in Montreal are trilingual, the three languages of instruction being French (60-65% of the time), Greek (20-25%) and English (10-15%). The same is true of the SAHETI in Johannesburg, at which English, Afrikaans and Greek are languages of instruction, in addition to which the Zulu language is also taught *(see Constantinides and Krystallidou in the present volume).*

The Greek-only schools in Germany and their counterparts in Brussels and London form a category of their own. These schools are funded and supervised by the Greek State and teach the Greek curriculum. Their continued operation three decades after foundation is mainly due to the fact that leavers can gain entry to Greek universities by sitting special easy examinations *(see Damanakis / Kanavakis in the present volume).*

European schools operate in countries and cities in the European Union where EU institutions are established, and admit children of EU employees. In a number of these (Brussels, Luxemburg, Munich and even in Heraklion, Crete), there are Greek-language forms (classes).

Reviewing the forms of Greek-language education in the diaspora on the basis of *1) legal status; 2) attendance obligations;3) curriculum,* we see that:

a) apart from the Greek-only schools, which are subject to Greek law, all other forms of education are subject to legislation in the country of residence;

b) pupils fulfil their obligations with regard to compulsory education if they attend a Greek-only or day School, whereas attendance at all other forms of Greek-language education is both optional and supplementary;

c) with the exception of the day Schools and in part the Greek-only schools, at which the curriculum is bilingual, in all other forms of education the curriculum is Greek-language and supplementary.

On the basis of their mission and orientation, the above forms of education could be differentiated between as follows:

Firstly, those which aim to prepare pupils for integration into the Greek educational, political and socio-cultural system (e.g. the Greek-only schools), and secondly, those which foster the Greek language within a multicultural - multilingual framework in the country of residence.

It is immediately obvious that we are dealing with two different rationales, the first of which is linked to *"return migration"*, while the second is bound up with *integration into host societies*. Given that emigration from Greece to the countries which traditionally hosted Greek migrants is no longer operative, the future probably lies in the second rationale.

On the basis of a fifth criterion, *integration or non-integration* into the education system of the host country, forms of Greek-language education can be separated into two major categories:

a) those within the curriculum, i.e. those incorporated into the education system of the host country;

b) extra-curricular forms.

Most forms of Greek-language education belong in the second category.

The forms and *status quo* of Greek-language education depend on or are at least influenced by: a) the history of each diaspora; b) the *status quo* of Greeks in the various countries of residence, and the resultant relationship between them and the host country, on the one hand, and with Greece, on the other.

Turning to the stance taken by Greece towards the various diasporas, and the home country's relationship with them, we note differences as regards the legislative measures enacted by Greece, and above all in the implementation of those measures.

For example, Law 2790/2000 *(On the Restitution of Return Migrants from the former Soviet Union)* was purely concessionary in nature, applying solely to Greek migrants from the former Soviet Union.

Greek communities in the former Soviet Union comprise what is termed the "historical Diaspora"; they differ from the remaining communities around the world, which were the result of migration from the late 19th century up until 1973, and which make up what is known as the "migrant Diaspora" *(see Damanakis in the present volume).*

Nevertheless, differences are not restricted to those between the historical and the migrant diasporas. They also exist within each type, particularly in the case of the latter. We highlight the differences by taking Germany and Canada as an example.

Although migration to Canada preceded that to Germany by approximately seven years, it is comparable as regards the circumstances prevailing in Greece in the 1950s and 1960s, and the reasons that led Greeks to emigrate.

Nevertheless, there was one crucial difference in the *status quo* of Greeks in the two countries. Canada received them with the prospect of permanent settlement, and thus soon offered them the opportunity to take up citizenship and acquire Canadian citizens' rights.

In contrast, Germany initially acted on the basis of the *"rotation principle" (Rotationsprinzip).* In simple terms, this meant that every five years the "guest workers" (Gastarbeiter) would return home, their places being taken by new workers.

Of course, this principle soon proved unworkable. Migrant policy thus shifted from the *"rotation principle"* to the *"double strategy" (Doppelstrategie),* meaning integration *(read assimilation)* and increased support for return migration for those wishing to go back to their country of origin.

In practice the double strategy was to prove equally unsuccessful, and so in the 1980s German governments went in search of new policies. Yet these need not concern us further, given the fact that *status quo* of Greeks in Germany changed after 1981, following Greece's accession to the European Union.

In addition to the status quo of Greeks in both countries (Canada and Germany) we should also bear in mind the Greeks' future plans and Greece's policy as the country of origin. In the initial stages, the intention to migrate on a temporary basis and the desire to return home were common to both groups.Yet in combination with geographical distance, migrant policies in the two countries acted as a check in the case of Greeks in Canada, while strengthening the will to return among those in Germany.

Together with a number of other factors analysed by Damanakis / Kanavakis and Constantinides herein, future prospects (return migration or more permanent residence) led to differing forms of education in the two countries. Although trilingual day Schools in Québec, Canada, admit Orthodox pupils of Greek descent, they are an integral part of the Québec education system and are funded by the provincial Ministry of Education. In contrast, Greek-only schools in Germany are funded by Greece, implement Greek curricula just as in Greece, operate outside the German education system and are isolated from their natural socio-cultural milieu.

In closing this introduction, we should stress that Greek-language education constitutes a highly significant link between the country of origin and the diaspora. Proof of this may be seen in the Education for Greeks Abroad program, which also serves as a meeting place and forum for cooperation among the authors of this volume.

Together with the above authors, other academics of Greek and non-Greek descent as well as Greek language teachers go to make up one of the many networks now linking Greece with diasporas around the world.

To some extent, the knowledge and experience accumulated by the members of that network are put on record in the present volume, which is now made available for use by education scientists, policymakers, diplomatic officials in Greece and the countries of residence and, of course, all teachers of Greek.

L'éducation hellénophone de la diaspora grecque

Michael Damanakis*

L'histoire de l'éducation hellénophone de la diaspora grecque est un élément constitutif essentiel d'elle-même. Dans ce sens les études du présent volume peuvent être considérées comme une contribution à l'étude de la diaspora néohellénique, qui s'étend du milieu du 15e siècle jusqu'à nos jours.

Plus précisément,les déplacements involontaires et dans bien de cas forcés des populations grecques à partir du territoire de l'Empire ottoman, principalement vers les pays de la Mer Noire et de la région Transcaucasienne, ont conduit à la création des communautés grecques dans ces régions du monde dont l'éducation est étudiée dans le présent volume par Anna Chatzipanagiotidis.

Au contraire, la migration de la main d'œuvre ouvrière de la Grèce vers des pays tiers, durant la période entre la fin du 19e siècle et les années 1970, a conduit à la création des communautés immigrantes qui existent aujourd'hui dans des pays d'accueil d'immigrants, tels les Etats-Unis, le Canada, l'Australie, la Grande Bretagne, l'Allemagne, l'Argentine, l' Egypte, l'Afrique du Sud et d'autres pays d'Afrique, et dont l'éducation est étudiée dans le présent volume par Nikolidakis, Constantinides, Tamis, Louca-Grann, Krystallidou et Damanakis/Kanavakis.

L'expérience historique accumulée des Grecs ayant trait à leur organisation sociale, politique et économique à l'extérieur du centre métropolitain influence encore aujourd'hui leur organisation et leur relation avec le centre, c'est-à-dire la Grèce.

Malgré les différences constatées, des organisations communautaires, comme les communautés laïques, les communautés ecclésiastiques, les associations ethno-régionales, ainsi que les associations des parents font plus ou moins leur apparition dans toutes les communautés de la diaspora.

Pour ce qui est de l'éducation hellénophone ce sont les communautés laïques et ecclésiastiques, les associations des parents, l'Etat grec et les Etats

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des pays d'accueil qui jouent un rôle décisif. On observe même des différences notables de pays en pays pour ce qui est de ces organismes, mais également au niveau des formes de l'éducation hellénophone.

Il ressort du tableau qui suit,que mis à part les services gouvernementaux (colonnes D et E) du pays d'origine et de celui d'accueil, d'autres organismes peuvent dispenser l'éducation grecque tels l'Eglise, les communautés, des associations communautaires, ou des personnes physiques.

Plus particulièrement, aux Etats-Unis l'organisme dispensant principalement l'éducation hellénophone est l'Eglise orthodoxe grecque d'Amérique. A l'inverse, en Europe de tels organismes sont, en principe, les services de l'Etat. Pour ce qui est des républiques de l'ex-Union Soviétique la plupart des initiatives de fondation d'écoles (c'est-à-dire des classes d'enseignement de la langue grecque) proviennent initialement de la part d'organismes communautaires (des associations, fédérations, compagnies, etc..). Il existe, cependant, des écoles gouvernementales (en Arménie, Georgie, Ukraine et en Russie) au sein d'un programme où a été intégré officiellement l'enseignement de la langue grecque.

Organismes et formes d'éducation hellénophone					
Types d'éducation et ses récepteurs	Typologie des organismes dispensant l' enseignement				
	Personnes physiques	Personnes morales	Eglise	Services gouvernementaux du pays d'origine	d'accueil
	A	B	C	D	E
1. Education prescolaire					
1.1 Ecoles maternelles exclusivement grecques	+	+	+	+	
1.2 Ecoles maternelles mixtes		+	+	+	+
2. Education primaire et secondaire					
2.1 Ecoles exclusivement grecques (privées)		+		+	
2.2 Ecoles bilingues pour élèves hellénophones et allophones		+	+		+
2.3 Des classes de langue grecque pour eléves hellénophones (intégrées dans le programme officiel du pays d'accueil, classes de l'après-midi, classes du samedi, etc.)	+	+	+	+	+
2.4 Des classes régulières dans les écoles du pays d'accueil avec des élèves hellénophones et allophones					+
2.5 Des classes régulières dans les écoles du pays d'accueil avec seulement des élèves allophones					+
3. Des écoles européennes					

La création des écoles dispensant une éducation hellénophone par des personnes physiques (écoles privées) est rare et on la rencontre principalement en Australie, rarement au Canada et dans des pays de l'ex-Union Soviétique.

Le genre d'organisme qui dispense l'éducation grecque et sa forme la plus répandue dans chaque pays dépendent des conditions particulières dans ce dernier, des politiques d'éducation face aux groupes ethniques appliquées sur son territoire et naturellement de l'évolution historique de la présence des Grecs dans chaque pays, ainsi que de la politique éducative de la Grèce.

Des écoles grecques (bilingues) existent par exemple dans les grands centres urbains, où la présence grecque est massive : New York, Chicago, Montréal, Sydney, Melbourne, Adélaïde, Johannesburg, Berlin, etc., à condition que de telles écoles soient autorisées par les lois du pays d'accueil.

De façon générale, les organismes dispensant l'éducation grecque peuvent être classés dans trois grandes catégories :

a) Services éducatifs du pays d'accueil

b) Services éducatifs du pays d'origine

c) Organismes communautaires.

Cependant, les organismes ayant véritablement en main l'éducation grecque et assurant sa survie dans la diaspora, sont les organismes communautaires et l'Eglise.

Les formes d'enseignement grec qui sont incluses dans le tableau précédent constituent en réalité des unités diverses des types d'éducation. La troisième forme d'éducation grecque (2.3), soit l'éducation primaire et secondaire, par exemple, est constituée par:

a) Des classes intégrées dans le programme régulier du matin des écoles du pays d'accueil (ceci étant l' exception),

b) Des classes intégrées dans le programme régulier du pays d'accueil, mais qui fonctionnent séparément du reste du programme scolaire dans l'après-midi (type fréquent)

c) Des classes qui fonctionnent l'après-midi en dehors du système

d'éducation du pays d'accueil, la plupart du temps sous la responsabilité des organismes communautaires (type le plus fréquent).

d) Des classes qui fonctionnent l'après-midi et sont soutenues tant par les autorités et les institutions de l'éducation du pays d'accueil que par les organismes communautaires.

e) Des classes du samedi.

Nous devons souligner que la forme la plus fréquente d'éducation grecque de la diaspora sont les classes d'enseignement du grec, soit de l'après-midi, soit du samedi, et que les organismes dispensant cette forme d'éducation sont d'habitude les organismes communautaires.

Une forme fréquente d'éducation hellénophone est constituée également par les écoles régulières qui fonctionnent durant tous les jours de la semaine et couvrent entièrement l'éducation obligatoire des élèves, tandis que les classes d'enseignement de la langue grecque fonctionnent de façon complémentaire et d'habitude ne fournissent pas de titres d'éducation (diplômes).

On rencontre ces écoles régulières principalement aux Etats-Unis, au Canada et en Australie. Des écoles analogues existent également ailleurs, comme par exemple, en Allemagne,Bruxelles, Londres, ou dans des pays d'Afrique comme le Soudan, l'Ethiopie, l'Afrique du Sud, mais portent des noms différents. Elles offrent plus ou moins un programme bilingue et leur programme analytique (curriculum) dépend des conditions institutionnelles et socio-économiques prévalant dans chaque cas et dans chaque pays. Les écoles grecques de Montréal, par exemple, sont trilingues avec comme langues d'enseignement le français dans une proportion de 60-65% du temps, le grec avec 20-25% et l'anglais avec 10-15%.Elles suivent le programme analytique(curriculum) du ministère de l'Éducation du Québec mais elles appartiennent aux communautés helléniques de Montréal et de Laval. Le même principe est valable pour l'école SAHETI de Johannesburg, où les langues d'enseignement sont l'anglais, l'afrikaans et le grec et en plus y est enseignée la langue des Zoulous (voir Constantinides et Krystallidou dans le présent volume).

En Allemagne les écoles appelées *écoles exclusivement grecques* constituent une catégorie d'écoles à part, comme d'ailleurs les écoles exclusivement grecques à Bruxelles et à Londres. Les *écoles exclusivement grecques* sont subventionnées et supervisées par l'Etat grec et appliquent les programmes

d'études de la Grèce. Le fait que ces écoles continuent à fonctionner, pour une troisième décennie depuis leur création, est principalement dû au fait que leurs diplômés sont acceptés suite à des examens spéciaux faciles dans les universités grecques (voir Damanakis/Kanavakis) dans le présent volume).

Les écoles européennes fonctionnent dans des pays et des villes de l'Union européenne où sont installés des services de cette entité et acceptent les enfants des employés de l'Union Européenne. Dans certaines de ces écoles (comme par exemple à Bruxelles, au Luxembourg, et même à Iraklion en Crète) fonctionnent également des classes de langue grecque.

Si on évalue globalement les formes d'enseignement du grec dans la diaspora en se fondant sur les critères suivants :

1) *le statut juridique*

2) *l' enseignement obligatoire*

3) *le programme d' enseignement(curriculum)*

nous constatons que:

a) A part les écoles qui sont régies par les lois grecques, toutes les autres formes d'enseignement sont régies par les lois du pays d'accueil.

b) exception faite des écoles régulières et en partie des écoles exclusivement grecques dont le programme d'études a un caractère obligatoire pour les élèves, dans toutes les autres formes d'enseignement le programme est complémentaire et non obligatoire.

c) si on exclut les écoles régulières et en partie les écoles appliquant le curriculum grec où l'enseignement est bilingue, dans toutes les autres formes d'enseignement le programme est en grec et complémentaire.

Sur la base du critère buts-orientations des formes d'enseignement grec, celles-ci pourraient être classifiées comme suit:

- celles qui ont comme but de préparer les élèves à l'intégration au système éducatif, économique et socioculturel grec (par exemple les écoles exclusivement grecques),

- celles qui cultivent la langue grecque dans le cadre d'une politique

multiculturelle-multilingue du pays d'accueil.

Il est évident qu'il s'agit de deux logiques différentes, dont la première est liée avec *«le retour»* dans le pays d'origine, et la seconde avec l'intégration dans les sociétés d'accueil. En considérant comme acquis qu'il n'existe plus de mouvement migratoire à partir de la Grèce vers les pays étant traditionnellement des pays d'accueil pour les immigrants Grecs, l'avenir appartient plutôt à la deuxième logique.

En prenant comme base le critère de *l'intégration ou pas au système éducatif du pays d'accueil,* les formes d'éducation grecque peuvent être classifiées dans deux grandes catégories :

- celle incluse dans le curriculum, c'est-à-dire celle qui est intégrée au système éducatif du pays d'accueil,

- celle *hors du curriculum.*

Dans la seconde catégorie appartient la majorité des diverses formes d'éducation hellénophone.

Les organismes, les formes et le système de l'éducation hellénophone dépendent ou du moins sont influencées :

a) par l'évolution historique de chaque diaspora

b) par le statut des Grecs dans les différents pays d'accueil et par leur relation qui en découle tant avec le pays d'accueil qu'avec la Grèce.

En examinant la relation et le comportement de la Grèce face aux diverses diasporas grecques on constate des différences pour ce qui est des mesures législatives mises en avant par la Grèce, mais plus particulièrement pour ce qui est de l'application de ces dernières.

La loi 2790/2000 *(Programme en vue de l'intégration des Grecs vivant dans l'ex-Union soviétique retournant vivre en Grèce)* par exemple, a un caractère nettement privilégié et concerne seulement les Grecs de l'ex-Union Soviétique.

Les communautés des Grecs de l'ex-Union Soviétique constituent ce que nous appelons la «diaspora historique» et se différencient des autres communautés grecques à travers le monde qui sont le produit de l'immigration

depuis la fin du 19e siècle jusqu'à nos jours et constituent ce que nous appelons la «diaspora immigrante» (voir Damanakis dans le présent volume).

Des différences, cependant, n'existent pas seulement entre la diaspora historique et l'immigrante, mais également à l'intérieur de chaque espèce de diaspora et plus particulièrement au sein de la diaspora immigrante.

Nous tenterons de mettre en évidence ces différences en prenant comme exemple les Grecs de l'Allemagne et du Canada.

Malgré le fait que l'immigration vers le Canada précède le mouvement migratoire dirigé vers l'Allemagne, celle-ci peut être comparée à celui-ci pour ce qui est des conditions qui prévalent en Grèce durant les décennies 1950 et 1960 et les raisons qui poussent les Grecs à immigrer.

Cependant, il existe une différence capitale en ce qui concerne le statut des Grecs dans ces deux pays. Le Canada accepte ceux-ci avec la perspective de leur installation permanente et par conséquent il leur procure rapidement la possibilité de devenir citoyens canadiens et d'obtenir les droits de ces derniers.

A l'inverse, l'Allemagne a fonctionné au début sur la base du «principe de rotation» (Rotationsprinzip). Dans sa forme la plus simplifiée ce principe signifie que tous les cinq ans les «ouvriers invités» (Gastarbeiter) retournent dans leurs pays d'origine et sont remplacés par des nouveaux ouvriers invités.

Il est rapidement apparu que ce principe ne fonctionnait pas dans les faits, ce qui a entraîné la modification de la politique de l'Allemagne face à l'immigration, de celle de la «rotation» en celle de la «double stratégie» (Dopperstrategie). C'est-à-dire, l' intégration (assimilation) de ceux qui désirent demeurer en Allemagne de façon permanente et le renforcement du mouvement de retour pour ceux qui désirent retourner à leur pays d'origine.

En pratique, ni la politique de rotation ni celle de la double stratégie n'ont fonctionné avec succès. Ceci a eu pour résultat dans les années 1980 de rechercher de nouvelles politiques, dont on ne va pas s'occuper plus à fond dans cet article, étant donné précisément qu'après l'accès de la Grèce à l'Union européenne en 1981, le statut des Grecs en Allemagne a changé.

Au statut des Grecs dans les deux pays (Canada et Allemagne) et à leurs politiques d'immigration il faut ajouter les orientations futures des Grecs et la politique de la Grèce comme centre métropolitain.

L'intention pour une migration provisoire et le désir pour le retour étaient initialement communes dans les deux groupes étudiés. Mais la distance géographique, en combinaison avec les politiques d'immigration respectives des deux pays, dans le cas des Grecs du Canada a fonctionné de façon négative vers un retour au pays d'origine, tandis que dans le cas de l'Allemagne, cela a fonctionné de façon positive en renforçant le retour au pays d'origine.

Les orientations futures (retour ou résidence permanente) en combinaison avec une série de facteurs, qui sont analysés dans les articles de Damanakis/Kanavakis et Constantinides dans le présent volume, ont conduit à des formes différentes d'éducation dans les deux pays.

Les écoles trilingues du Québec au Canada acceptent des élèves de religion orthodoxe et d'origine grecque, mais elles font partie intégrante du système éducatif du Québec et sont subventionnées par les commissions Scolaires de cette province.

A l'inverse, les écoles exclusivement grecques de l'Allemagne sont subventionnées par la Grèce, appliquent les programmes analytiques (curriculum) de la Grèce, fonctionnent en dehors du système éducatif allemand et sont coupées de leur environnement socioculturel.

En conclusion,on pourrait souligner que l'éducation hellénophone constitue un chaînon très important entre le centre métropolitain et la diaspora. Le Programme Paideia Omogenon (Education des Grecs de la Diaspora) qui fonctionne aussi comme lieu de rencontre et de collaboration des auteurs des articles du présent volume en constitue une preuve.

Les auteurs mentionnés plus haut, mais aussi d'autres scientifiques d'origine grecque ou autre, aussi bien que des enseignants de langue grecque constituent un des nombreux réseaux qui relient aujourd'hui la Grèce avec ses diasporas à travers le monde.

L'expérience et la connaissance des membres de ce réseau se reflètent dans une certaine mesure dans le présent volume, qui se met à la disposition des scientifiques de l'éducation, des décideurs au niveau de l'élaboration des politiques éducatives, des services diplomatiques en Grèce et dans les pays d'accueil et naturellement à la disposition de tous les enseignants de la langue grecque.

The Metropolitan Centre, the Diaspora and Education

Michael Damanakis*

RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur aborde la relation entre le centre métropolitain (la Grèce) et la diaspora en décrivant la diaspora grecque dans le cadre théorique de la définition de l'identité. L'article définit des problématiques clès reliées au concept d'identité, développées par l'auteur à travers la recherche et son expérience. Il explore comment l'enseignement de la langue et de la culture grecque influence la notion d'identité dans la diaspora grecque. De plus l'auteur analyse les structures des communautés grecques de la diaspora et aussi les mesures statutaires prises par le centre métropolitain concernant cette diaspora. Ces analyses des diverses versions de la grecitude jettent un éclairage nouveau sur les relations entre la Grèce et la diaspora.

ABSTRACT

The author approaches the relationship between centre and diaspora by describing the Greek diaspora within the theoretical framework of identity definition. The article sets out key identity issues developed by the author through both research and experience. He explores how the teaching of the Greek language and culture influences the notion of identity in the diaspora. The author also analyses the organization of these communities and the statutory measures taken by the centre concerning the diaspora. His analyses and review of the various versions of 'Greekness' in the diaspora sheds much light on the relationship between Greece and Diaspora.

Introduction

The following thoughts present a synthesis of the author's experiences as academic director of "Education for Greeks Abroad" program *(Paideia Omogenon).* His ideas have by and large been documented in earlier publications or progress reports on the programme but have not been made available to a broader audience until now.

The aims and objectives of the *Paideia Omogenon* programme are detailed by D. Kontoyiannis, in the present volume. Suffice it to say here that this programme

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seeks to maintain, foster and promote Greek language and culture in the diaspora, by improving primary and secondary school Greek-language education. Within that framework, the goal may be broken down into four components: develop educational materials in electronic and print format; train teachers seconded from Greece and those from the diaspora; conduct educational programmes for diaspora pupils; and create communication networks, databases and distance learning facilities via the internet and satellite television.

Studies carried out as part of Education for Greeks Abroad, together with the wealth of historical and sociological studies on Greek migration and the diaspora, reveal that the relationship between the country of origin and the diaspora, the diaspora and the host country, and the relationships within the community institutions and organisations themselves are multi-levelled, multi-dimensional and dynamic; in other words, constantly evolving.

Naturally the question arises regarding the level at which one should focus analysis, and the perspective from which this dynamic relationship should be viewed.

In the present study, the relationship between the Centre and the diaspora is approached from an institutional and educational perspective. To facilitate understanding of what follows, an attempt will first be made to define the term diaspora, along with other terms central to the study.

1. Clarifications and Scope of Terms used

Historians usually demarcate the Greek diaspora[1] on the basis of geographical criteria (residence outside the national territory), and the maintenance of material, cultural and sentimental ties with the national centre. Diverging from such an approach, the present study understands *diaspora* as being directly correlated to the processes of socialization and formation of identity by individuals living in migrant environments or in situations where cultures meet and interact.

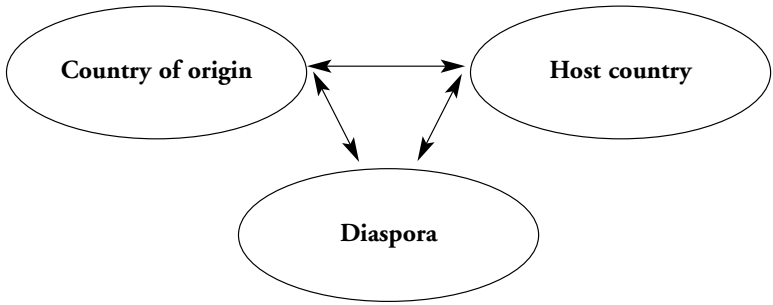
The term diaspora is understood as meaning the geographical dispersal of ethnic groups that live in isolation from their group of origin and reference, or the ethnic core, though not necessarily estranged from it. Furthermore, in living as ethnic groups or minorities in a culturally different society, they move between

two different reference groups and two cultural systems, thus forming their identity under unique circumstances[2].

If the group of origin and reference is a society organised into a nation state, then we necessarily have a tri-pole or triangle consisting of:

a) *the metropolitan Centre* (the country/nation of origin), b) the more or less organised diaspora and c) the *host country/nation,* i.e. another national Centre.

Fig. 1: The Diaspora Tri-pole



The terms *ethnic group* and *national minority* used in the above definition are not synonymous. An *ethnic minority,* just as a *national minority* are as a rule of *low status* and subject to discrimination and inequality, being subordinate to the ethnic majority within an ethnically stratified society.

In contrast, an *ethnic group* may be an equal member of a multiethnic society organised into a state. For example, in the case of the Modern Greek diaspora, the Greeks of Albania constitute a recognized national minority, whereas the Greeks in Australia, Canada and the USA function as ethnic groups within the framework of a multiethnic, multilingual and multifaith society.

The term *identity* is to be understood along the lines of symbolic interaction, i.e. as being made up of two constituents: *personal identity,* expressing the individuality and uniqueness of a person as self-view and biography, and *social identity,* referring to the common traits of the various identities on the collective level.

Social identity is a composite made up of constituent identities e.g., religious, national, cultural, local, political, professional and so on.

Constituent identities can be used as tools to analyze the process by which

identity is formed by the individual, as well as the ways in which vehicles of Greek-language education in the diaspora intervene so as to create the ethnocultural identity or "Greekness" of each generation in the diaspora[3].

The *diaspora tri-pole* analytical model is directly linked to the nation state and its organisation. It thus presupposes that members of a community come from one nation state and live in another. In the best-case scenario they can act as a link between the two states, or poles, thus creating a well-balanced tri-pole[4].

On the other hand, it is obvious that community organization and development depends on the relationships obtained at any given time between the two countries (country of origin and host country), as well as that the members of a community may face the "double loyalty" dilemma[5].

In accordance with the above model, the relationship between the national centre (country of origin) and the diaspora is examined in terms of centre versus periphery or transmitter versus receiver. In other words, diasporas function as satellites of the "national planet".

The above approach is the opposite extreme of that adopted by the field of diaspora studies, according to which diasporas have begun to acquire autonomy in the face of post-Cold War developments and globalization. Such autonomy concerns the relationship which the diaspora maintains with both the country of origin and country of residence, on both the cultural and political level[6].

Which of the two models above applies to the case of the Greek diaspora? This can be answered by analyzing the organisation of the diaspora itself and the measures instituted by the Centre for the Diaspora. We now attempt to outline the way in which the diaspora is organized and present the most significant measures instituted by the Centre.

Before doing so, however a brief historical review of the Modern Greek diaspora is deemed necessary.

2. Historical and migrant diaspora

The Modern Greek diaspora extends in time from the Fall of Constantinople (1453) and Ottoman domination to the present day. The foundation of the Modern Greek State in 1830 was a significant milestone

in the period.

In the time of Ottoman domination and up until the foundation of the Modern Greek State, the Greeks lacked a state entity. Throughout the period Constantinople was perceived as being the centre or cradle [of Hellenism].

Upon the creation of the Greek kingdom, Hellenism was divided into that within the Greek state (Greek Hellenism) and that beyond it (regional / peripheral Hellenism). According to Svoronos[7], as the economically more robust of the two, the latter supported the former, lending it prestige and significance.

"Greek Hellenism" and "regional Hellenism" made up "Greater Hellenism", which was to a great extent culturally and economically united in the second half of the 18th century.

The historical diaspora arose on account of historical events from the mid-15th century up until the foundation of the Modern Greek State, and after its foundation up until the Asia Minor Disaster (1922) or until the end of World War II (1945).

On the basis of the subdivisions used by Hasiotis[8], the following table can be arrived at with regard to the periods in the history of the Modern Greek diaspora.

Table 1: Modern Greek diaspora destinations

Historical period	**Main destinations of emigrant groups**
1453-1830	Commercial centres and ports in western, central, eastern and south-eastern Europe
1830-1945	As above, plus southern Russia, the Transcaucasus and the USA
1950-1973	The USA, Canada, Australia, Europe (Germany, Sweden, Belgium/Holland, France)

Despite the fact that there is a temporal overlap between the historical and the migrant diaspora (mainly from 1890 to 1922), it could be argued that the historical diaspora was the product of historical developments occurring in the

main from the mid-15th to the late 19th centuries. On the other hand, the migrant diaspora resulted from population movements - mainly for economic reasons - from Greece and the historical diaspora to migrant host countries, such as the USA, Canada, Australia, Germany and, to a lesser extent, to countries in «Black Africa» and «Latin America»[9]. The migrant diaspora was formed after 1890, above all in the third quarter of the 20th century.

In geographical terms, contemporary Hellenism from the historical diaspora has the Mediterranean and the Black Sea as its focus, whereas overseas Greeks in migrant host countries are to be found in all five continents, with English-speaking countries taking pride of place.

The varying circumstances under which each diaspora arose and was formed, and above all the varying experiences the members in each diaspora lived through point to the formation of varying identities, as will be discussed below.

3. Diaspora Organization: Communities, Community Organizations and Networks

3.1 Communities and community organizations

A (diaspora) community is comprised of the sum total of individuals living in a particular geographical area outside the country of origin, who define themselves on the basis of their ethnocultural or religious origin as being distinct from the ethnocultural majority or other non-dominant ethnocultural groups in the same geographical area.

In such cases, ethnocultural distinctiveness as a criterion for the demarcation and differentiation of the community within the country of residence also acts as a channel of communication and interaction with the country of origin.

Every individual who considers himself or herself as a bearer of the ethnocultural traits characteristic of the community is a potential "community member", whether or not he or she participates actively in community institutions, organisations, functions and community life in general.

The arrangement of communities into organizations on the basis of constituent criteria such as local origin (e.g. homeland locality associations of Cretans) or

national, social, political, cultural and economic criteria (e.g. civil communities), professional interests (chambers of commerce), religion (church communities), common interests (sports and parents associations) lead to the creation of community organizations or communities (in the sociological sense of the term)[10].

The commonest community organisations are

- *Civil Communities (Kinotites)*
- *Parents' Associations*
- *Homeland locality Associations (Brotherhoods)*
- *Sports Associations*
- *Cultural Associations*
- *Charity - Solidarity Associations*
- *Student Associations*
- *Youth Associations.*

The main feature of such organisations is structure, name and in general a sense of familiarity among members. There is also the more or less active participation of members in events or activities. In contrast to the wider community, which may be heterogeneous, such organizations are typified by homogeneity. From the above it follows that the community may consist of several sub-communities, or otherwise of several community organizations.

These organizations were created to meet social, cultural and economic needs, as well as the psychological needs of first generation migrants. These needs were not met by equivalent institutions in the host country and/or country of origin. The needs of the younger generation of community members tend to lead to a change in the role of the organization, or in the worst case, to its disbandment. For example, the role of a "charitable association" is now to take care of the aged, rather than to cater to newly arrived migrants or those who have fallen on hard times. The homeland locality associations no longer serve merely as a means to meet the socio-psychological or entertainment needs of the first generation, but rather as domains for the planned socialization of the

younger generation, mainly via local venues.

Many civil and church communities no longer simply organize afternoon or Saturday classes (schools) teaching Greek. Instead, they have founded and run *"Bilingual Day Schools",* which target other-language pupils wishing to learn Greek as a second language, in addition to pupils of Greek descent, thus forging a closer relationship with the host society and promoting their integration into it.

Almost all community organisations serve as domains for the use of Greek and the socializing of younger members, as well as domains from which formative content for Greek-language education may be drawn.

In the area of Greek language education, the role of the Greek Orthodox Church, the civil communities and the parents' associations is particularly significant. Together with the host country and country of origin, the first two of these institutions remain the main vehicles for Greek-language education in all countries.

3.2 Networks

The significance of the socio-cultural and - in many cases economic and political - role, played by the various community organisations seems to be known to their members. Attempts have thus been made to provide for second and third-tier bodies. In this way networks are created, rendering the organizations within them more functional and effective.

For example, it is common for organisations of a similar type, such as the urban communities in a host community to form a Greek community federation (e.g., the Federation of Greek Communities in the Federal Republic of Germany), or for the Cretan Associations in a country to organize and establish a second-tier body (e.g., the Pancretan Federation of America). The Pancretan federations in several countries may then move on to found the "World Council of Cretans", with a head office in Crete[11].

Though less common, it is not unknown for dissimilar community organizations in one country to federate into a second-tier body (e.g., the Federation of Greek Associations and Communities in Sweden).

In the first two cases, homogeneous organisations (communities, local associations) weave a network; whereas, in the third case, existing similar

networks (community and association networks) form a heterogeneous network or *inter*-network.

The inter-networking of community organisations between themselves and with the Centre would seem to be an ever-increasing preoccupation of diaspora group leaders. On the other hand, the Centre has in turn created the *World Council of Hellenes Abroad,* which, as will be detailed below, is in itself a global network.

For the above reasons, as part of the *Education for Greeks Abroad* we studied network formation processes and the basic features thereof, taking the School Communities at Greek Private Schools[12] in Nordrhein-Westphalen Germany as our paradigm. The results of this case study are given in condensed form in Table 2, which we shall comment on in brief.

3.2.1 Structural and functional features of networks

Table 2: Dimensions and features of networks

Dimension	**Evolution-content**
1. Institutional and structural	• Core and peripheral elements of each network • Links between core structural elements in the network with state and social structures • Institutional - structural links between similar organisations via the foundation of second-tier bodies
2. Geographical	Formation of: - local networks - inter-local networks - supra-local networks/inter-networks
3. Ideological	• Nation state ideology • Ethnocentric ideology • Supra-ethnic - intercultural ideology
4. Operational and organizational	For the achievement of specific aims, organisation and operation on the level of: - Parents' Associations - Parallel communities - Local and inter-local networks - Supra-local networks / inter-networks

As is detailed below, homogeneous communities (organizations) form a local or inter-local network. In other words, each network is composed of similar organisations, which as a general rule have common interests, and in that sense operate as *interest groups*.

In contrast, a supra-local network or inter-network includes heterogeneous organisations. In such cases, the homogeneous organisations that prompted the formation of the supra-local network are the core elements, while the heterogeneous ones are the peripheral elements.

On the basis of the above delimitations and the four dimensions of networks *institutional-structural, geographical, ideological and operational-organisational* the main features of networks may be described as follows:

Institutional and structural dimensions:

As mentioned, in the German case examined, the core structural element of the network is the school community, which in turn has the parents' association as its own core element.

In each instance, the parents' association is registered with the regional court and operates legally as a collective institutional body, around which the network is built. The core structural element in the network thus forms part of the institutional structures of the host country. At the same time it is recognized by the country of origin, Greece, and operates within the terms of the institutional framework of both countries, being no different from other collective educational bodies with respect to the institutional-structural dimension.

As a consequence of the above integration, the networks connect pre-existing structures and social domains, while incorporating legally active entities and collective bodies into their structures.

In contrast with the core elements, their peripheral counterparts are difficult to distinguish from each other and can only be understood by insiders, given that the interconnection of community organizations via networks is not formalized and is often limited to people acting in isolation on an individual basis.

Geographical dimensions:

Homogeneous organisations in a given area (e.g., the parents' associations of the primary, junior and senior high schools in a city) form the local

network, which is enriched by the peripheral elements mentioned above. Networks of two or more areas form inter-local networks, which operate on the institutional level as second-tier bodies of the parents' associations (e.g. the Federation of Nordrhein-Westfalen Parents' Associations in Germany) or as third-tier bodies on a federal level.

The inter-networks (networks of heterogeneous entities) are inter-local, or more still supra-local, in the sense that people and groups from the country of origin also participate in them. A classic manifestation of a supra-local inter-network is the *World Council of Hellenes Abroad (S.A.E.),* which is presented below.

Ideological dimensions:

Cohesion and co-ordination with regard to actions by members of a network, and above all of an inter-network, are in the main safeguarded by two factors: by the *projected aim* and a *common ideology.* It should be stressed that this is particularly essential with regard to ideology, given that in contrast to homogeneous organisations, members of heterogeneous organisations do not necessarily have common interests.

In other words, while in the case of homogeneous networks "common interest" is all that is required to safeguard cohesion, a wider ideology and thus a common projected aim is required for heterogeneous ones. This acts as a unifying force, weakening any possible contradictions between heterogeneous organisations, groups and people comprising the heterogeneous network in each instance.

In our case, the ideology of *"parallel Communities"*[13] and *"parallel networks"* we examined (i.e. that of School Communities at Greek Private Schools in Germany) was ethnocentric, and in some extreme cases bordered on the nationalistic.

Functional and organizational dimensions:

The "parallel communities" and associated "parallel networks" have a particular ideology, and above all a particular projected aim. Network organization and operation are directly defined by their aims.

In the case being considered here, it is expressed as follows:

In the years immediately following the foundation in 1982/3 of

exclusively Greek schools, one parents' association sufficed for the advancement of issues regarding scholastic and parental demands, given that the Greek government was determined to promote that particular form of Greek-language education in Germany.

The emerging school community was followed by the creation of a local network that became broader than the community itself and had the aim of supporting and bolstering the new institution.

When the Greek government subsequently began to have doubts about the utility of these schools and attempted to phase them out gradually by means of law 2413/96, parents networked across Germany and succeeded in repealing the relevant provision in the law.

Now that the future of these schools remains shadowed under ever increasing doubt, there is a need for those networks to expand, grow stronger and interlink with other networks, such as those of the World Council of Hellenes Abroad (S.A.E.) or the political party formations in Greece could become involved.

It could be argued that in our case, networks have evolved starting from the parents' associations and ended up as part of a supra-local (inter)-network, growing in parallel with school communities and local and intra-local networks.

The dominant feature of each of these organizational structures is their functionality with regard to achieving their aims. Nowadays, a strong supra-local network is needed to safeguard the continued operation of the schools. Twenty years ago the parents' association sufficed.

Having outlined the organisation and (inter)-networking of Greek communities in the diaspora, we move to the statutory measures taken by the Centre for the Diaspora.

4. Statutory Measures Taken by the Ethnic Centre for the Diaspora

The discussion centring on the Greek diaspora initiated after 1974 (fall of the Junta) blossomed at the governmental level through the foundation and operation of a Deputy Ministry for Greeks Abroad, which acquired explicit constitutional sanction in Article 108 of the 1975 Constitution.

In adopting a "welfare mentality", the state obliged itself constitutionally to *"care for the life of Greeks abroad and the preservation of ties with the Mother Country. It also cares for the education and social and professional advancement of Greeks working outside the state."*

In the 2001 constitutional revision, Article 108 was supplemented with a second paragraph, providing that:

"2. the law determines matters relating to the organisation, operation and competence of the World Council of Hellenes Abroad, its mission being the expression of all forces of Hellenism worldwide".

The World Council of Hellenes Abroad (S.A.E.) was founded in 1989, through Law 1867/98 Article 17, within the framework of the General Secretariat for Greeks Abroad, which had been founded as early as 1982 (Law 1288/1982, Article 13) in the then Ministry for the Presidency of the Government, its mission being to care for the protection of the rights and interests of Greeks Abroad, and in general to study all issues relating to Greeks Abroad and make recommendations to the Greek government of the time.

According to Article 1 of Presidential Decree 196/1995, the aims of the S.A.E. are as follows:

«1. The World Council of Hellenes Abroad (S.A.E.), founded under article 17 of Law 1867/89, is seated in Thessaloniki. It constitutes an advisory body to the Greek state on all issues pertaining to Greeks Abroad.

In particular, the S.A.E. offers its opinion and submits proposals to the relevant bodies of the Greek state, among others on issues pertaining to:

a) The strengthening of ties between Greeks Abroad and the country of birth, as well as between Greeks abroad in the countries in which they reside.

b) The improvement of living conditions and more especially the protection and promotion of educational, economic, labour, political and other rights of Greeks abroad, both in their countries of residence as well as in Greece.

c) The provision of support and assistance to Greeks Abroad for their better organisational development.

d) The strengthening of economic, trade, cultural and educational relations between the countries of residence and Greece.

e) The reintegration of return migrants into Greek society.

Taking into consideration the time at which both institutions were founded, the General Secretariat for Greeks Abroad in 1982 and the S.A.E. in 1989[14], as well as the fact that the latter was founded within the framework of the former, paragraph 2 of Article 108 of the constitution permits us to deduce that 26 years after the "welfare mentality" was adopted by the nation state towards Greeks working "outside the state", it was augmented with the opportunity for *"the expression of all the forces of Hellenism worldwide".*

This new dimension, which was enshrined in the Constitution in the year 2001, had already been legislated in 1995. For example, on the eve of the first organisational meeting of the S.A.E, the Deputy Foreign Minister handling such matters at the time was to write in a leading article in a feature issue by the *Ikonomikos Tachydromos* (27th July 1995, p. 55) that "the planning and realization of a conceptually comprehensive *Strategy for Hellenism* thus presupposes the development and operation of a two-way relationship*, both between Greece and the diaspora and vice-versa, meaning that of the self-organized community abroad to the country of origin, on the basis of the "welfare provision" in Article 108 of the Constitution and Article 1 paragraph 3, which refers respectively to the Nation ".*

The two-way relationship underlined in the first part of the citation is a new element in the political terminology of politicians with the relevant brief.

Yet the significant thing is that this two-way relationship is interpreted and delimited by the spirit of the welfare obligation in paragraph 1, Article 108 and the *national* mentality of Article 1, paragraph 3 of the constitution. It thus is a two-way relationship as understood and delimited from the perspective of the national Centre. As such, it is a one-sided declaration.

It may not have been possible for it to have been otherwise at the time, given that the S.A.E. was founded by the Greek state as an advisory body towards it. In other words, the S.A.E. derives from the national Centre and ends in it.

* Stress used by the Deputy Minister

The position on a "two-way" relationship between the Centre and the diaspora had already been formulated in the late 1980s, within the framework of another piece of legislature, on that occasion by the Ministry of Education.

In March 1986, a committee was formed to draw up a draft law *on the education and instruction of Greek children abroad.* The draft in question did not of course become law, but many of the positions then adopted by Committee members, relating to the relationship between the Centre and the diaspora, passed into the new draft, which was revised in 1994/5, enriched and ended up in June 1996 as Law 2413/96 *"Greek education abroad, intercultural education and other provisions."*

Article 1 of Law 2413/1996 defines the aim of Greek education abroad as follows:

"…2. The aim of Greek education abroad is:

a. the cultivation and teaching of the Greek language,

b. the promotion of Greek cultural identity,

c. the building of Greek children's characters, which will reinforce their self-awareness and self-confidence,

d. the advancement and dissemination of the Greek language, the Orthodox tradition and Greek culture in other countries,

e. the promotion of the distinct cultural traits, traditions and history of Greeks living in other countries and areas of the world, as well as the promotion and full use of those traits in Greece, particularly via the education system, as well as abroad,

f. to make full use of the knowledge and experience of diaspora Greeks for the development of science, culture and education in Greece,

g. to contribute to the mutual understanding, peaceful coexistence and co-operation of individuals and groups of differing origins and cultural traditions who live in modern multicultural societies.

3. Greek education abroad aims to provide support to programmes and forms

of Greek education corresponding to the needs of Greek children and diaspora Hellenism in general. By means of this approach, Greek education programmes and forms of organisation also targeting the inhabitants of those other countries will be given support ".

On studying law 2413/96 itself, as well as the relevant preamble and the relevant parliamentary proceedings, one easily comes to the following conclusions:

For the first time, *multiculturalism, cultural pluralism* and *cultural distinctiveness* are features at the outset of a preamble to a law relating to Greek education abroad, and to the education of return migrants and foreigners in Greece.

For the first time, reference is expressly made to the *history, wealth* and *knowledge* of the diaspora.

The preamble also makes express mention of the fact that the spirit of the law is *Greek-centred,* and not *Greece-centred.* It is further stressed that intervention by the Centre in the diaspora *"is also intercultural, viewing Greek culture as a contribution to the enrichment of a broader European and international culture, but also viewing the cultures of the other peoples our culture encounters on an even footing"* (preamble IV, 5). Yet what is interesting and significant is that the new *"intercultural approach"* is linked directly and discussed in conjunction with the *"national"* one; in both the preamble (page 2) and the relevant parliamentary proceedings (session 116 - 2nd May 1996), mention is made of an *"intercultural national strategy for Hellenism".*

The linking of the *intercultural approach* and *the national strategy* creates terminological confusion, ultimately leading to the nullification of the former, on account of the historically moulded domination of the latter.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that for the first time in Modern Greek history, attempts are being made to move from a national to an intercultural approach to educational policy.

Further to our analysis of the S.A.E. and Law 2413/96, the following conclusion can be drawn:

In the mid-1990s there were two observable tendencies as regards the relationship between the Centre and the diaspora.

The first, which is the dominant of the two, is based on the principle that the Centre provides for and intervenes in the diaspora.

The second, on the other hand, attempts to set a two-way relationship between the Centre and the diaspora in motion, though the content of that relationship remains to be seen.

How these two trends will develop in the future and what they may mean for Greek-language education abroad will be discussed below. However, brief reference to the remaining statutory measures taken by the Centre concerning the diaspora, should be made first.

Political interest displayed by the Centre for the diaspora was further substantiated by the foundation and operation of the Special Permanent Committee of the Greek Parliament for Greeks Abroad, in 1996[15].

The cross-party nature of the Committee and its unceasing concern with Greek diaspora issues have shown it to be a significant political body, functioning by order of national parliament and answerable to the latter.

With regard to educational policy, particular significance should also be accorded to the Special Secretariat for the Education of Greeks Abroad and Intercultural Education", as well as to the "Institute for the Education of Greeks Abroad and Intercultural Education (IPODE)[16].

Also founded in 1996, these two institutions - the one political, the other academic / advisory - come under the Ministry of Education, their brief being Greek-language education abroad and the education of return migrant and foreign pupils within the country.

The collapse of "actually existing socialism" brought to the fore the existence and problems of a historical diaspora, neglected if not forgotten by the state.

Members of that historical diaspora in the countries of the Black Sea region and in the Greek minority in Albania were and are in need of welfare from the national Centre.

The above development led to the foundation of the National Foundation for the Reception and Restitution of Repatriating Greeks in 1990, its chief mission being the *"reception, hospitality and relief, aiming at the smooth adjustment and social integration (...) of repatriating migrant Greeks "* from countries in the Black Sea region.

However, the National Foundation's failure to solve return migrants' problems led the Greek Parliament to embark upon new statutory measures, by passing Law 2790/2000 on the *Restitution of Repatriating Greeks from the former Soviet Union* in 2000.

The Law provides for issues concerning:

- *the acquisition of Greek nationality by Greeks living in former Soviet countries;*

- *re-settlement accommodation in "settlement zones" for Greeks from abroad;*

- *restitution to employment;*

- *education and culture.*

The law is of the welfare type, and concerns support for Greeks from the former Soviet Union. The fact that the most recent statutory measure taken by the Centre is purely in the spirit of welfare permits us to note that in the year 2000 the welfare obligation in paragraph 1, Article 108 of the constitution remains dominant.

The "expression of all the forces of Hellenism worldwide anticipated" in the second paragraph of the same article, and the two-way relationship on an equal and mutual footing operate in the shade of the welfare and intervention mentality.

The fact that the metropolitan Centre continues to operate on the basis of a welfare and intervention mentality, for all the declared stance on a two-way relationship between the Centre and the diaspora, also emerges from the course and practices of the World Council of Hellenes Abroad thus far. The S.A.E. represents an attempt to inter-network diaspora organisations with institutions in the national Centre, and in recent years has made strenuous efforts to create networks such as:

- *Cultural networks (Special Permanent Committee for Greeks Abroad; the*

Global Inter-parliamentary Union for Hellenism, Self-Government Network

- *Economic Networks (Business network)*
- *Educational and cultural networks (a Culture Network and an Academic Network)*
- *Communications Networks*
- *Youth Network*
- *Women's Network*[17]

The results of this effort remain to be seen. What are visible, however, are a number of problems regarding network function. These probably stem from the following:

-the S.A.E. is an institution belonging to and accountable to the national Centre. In other words, the attempt to network and inter-network diaspora Greeks is not so much being made on their own initiative as on the initiative of the metropolitan Centre, thus pointing to an asymmetrical relationship between the two parties.

- the inter-networking of networks into a supra-local (global) inter-network, which the S.A.E. in essence is, has need of a common ideology and stated aim, a *common vision,* which does not appear to be clear.

The thought behind the foundation and stated aim of the S.A.E. are in the main determined by the national Centre; this no longer appears to inspire diaspora organisations, which are to a great extent made up of members of the second and third generations. Greek diasporas may not yet have become fully independent of the Centre, and may not operate as autonomous organisations, as the diaspora studies approach would have it[18], but they no longer operate as "satellites" and thus passive recipients of communications from the Centre.

The given state of affairs is neither right nor wrong, neither good nor bad, but it is the expression of a transitional state in the relationship between the Centre and the diaspora at a particular juncture. We see it as the expression of a new role-seeking process, on the part of both the Centre and the diaspora, given new circumstances, such as:

- *Greece's full integration into the supra-national EU construct;*

- *global developments in the post-Cold War era;*

- *new technology (which has reduced distances, condensed time and secured immediate, live communication and exchange of information);*

- *economic globalization.*

5. The Mission of Greek-Language education in the diaspora

Within the framework of this particular juncture, Greek-language education in the diaspora is called upon to play its own role and fulfill its own mission.

The Greek state actively supports Greek-language education in the diaspora by:

- *dispatching educational material for the teaching of the Greek language and the rudiments of Greek History and Culture;*

- *seconding teachers;*

- *sending Education Coordinators (Advisors) to Greek General Consulates in countries with a significant population of Greek origin;*

- *founding Greek Private Schools, mainly in European countries;*

- *providing general moral and material support for every effort made to maintain, foster and promote the Greek language and Greek culture abroad.*

One of the most significant educational steps the Greek state has taken over the past eight years has been the *"Education for Greeks Abroad"* programme, which operates within the spirit of law 2413/1996, and which is analysed by D. Kontoyianni in the present volume.

As mentioned in the previous section, the aim of Greek education abroad is determined in Article 1, Law 2413/96. That being said, the aim is so broad, multi-levelled and multi-faceted that it has need of further delineation, specialisation and specification.

According to the logic of the *Education for Greeks Abroad* programme, Greek-language education in the diaspora has a dual mission; one educational, the other socio-political.

First and foremost, it should assist developing individuals to develop their full potential and to acquire an identity consistent with the true conditions in which they live and are socialised.

Secondly, Greek-language education should contribute to clarifying and building a relationship between diaspora communities, with Greece as the country of origin and with the country of residence.

The *educational branch* refers to the analysis of the particular conditions in which individuals are socialised, as well as to analysis of their socio-cultural preconditions (foundations) and the various aspects of their *differentiated ethnocultural identity.*

The second or *socio-political branch* refers to the *country of origin - diaspora - country of residence* tri-pole, leading to the integration of Greek-language education into the triangular relationship.

In the next chapter we will try to discuss the dual mission of Greek education in the diaspora from a pedagogical point of view.

6. Ethnocultural Identity ("Greekness") in the Diaspora

Scope of terms used

The term ethnocultural identity refers to that part of the identity linked to or composed of contemporary or diachronic traits relating to the Greek language and culture, manners and customs, institutions and traditions. Thus the term "Greekness" is used as a synonym for ethnocultural identity.

Ethnocultural identity is a constituent trait of the individual's social identity, which is broader, covering those socio-cultural, economic, political and other traits that relate to the society in the country of residence.

The identity of each individual and each group is made up of both *contemporary* and *diachronic traits.* The former are as a rule discernible

(language, religions, customs and manners, institutions), while the latter may be made up of collective memories, myths, credos, symbolisms and idealisations of the distant past.

6.1 Versions of Greekness in the diaspora

Upon investigating the socialisation of people of Greek descent in the diaspora, and more particularly their ethnocultural identity or Greekness, one soon comes to the conclusion that many different versions of Greekness are encountered in the diaspora, these being linked to the historical development of the diaspora in each instance, and the political, economic, social and cultural living conditions of the members in each diaspora.

To be more specific, *Greekness* lies between two poles.

In the first case, Greekness is not merely oriented to cultural norms operative in Greece, but is very close to the version of Greece-based Greekness, in the sense that it bears contemporary, discernible traits such as language, religion, history, institutions, manners, customs and traditions.

In other words, it is a Greekness outside Greece which is nevertheless Greece-centred.This version is mainly encountered in the migrant diaspora, above all in Europe. In particular, this extra-Greece and yet intensely Greece-centred Greekness is encountered in Germany, where there are exclusively Greek Schools, around which *"parallel Communities"*[19] grow up, almost in isolation from the remaining Greek community and above all from the host society.

At the other extreme, another version of Greekness one encounters merely appears as a conviction, allegiance to descent, a credo and a sentimental link with everything Greek, yet unaccompanied by contemporary, discernible traits. This version of Greekness, which is mainly encountered in the historical diaspora, though also in the migrant diaspora with a long history, could be termed *symbolic Greekness* or more generally as *symbolic ethnicity.*

In contrast to extra-Greece, Greece-oriented Greekness, symbolic Greekness appears as allegiance to descent, as a set of convictions, a credo and a myth, unaccompanied by contemporary, discernible traits. At the very best it is accompanied by a number of Greek-derived cultural and linguistic residua.

Lest the impression is created that *"symbolic Greekness"* is devoid of

content, what follows should elucidate the term on the *"content level"*. Also, symbolic Greekness, in the sense of *"allegiance to descent"* and *"sentimental relationship"* with the place of origin, is used by individuals to define themselves and their relationship with the initial "birthplace", their community and with "Others", an attempt will also be made to further elucidate the term on the *"relationship level",* or on the level of the "self-positioning" process carried out by individuals in relation to one or more reference groups.

a) Analysis of ethnocultural identity on the relationship / process level

As a constituent element of social identity, ethnocultural identity serves as a tool for determining an individual's behaviour in his or her socio-cultural environment, as well as for defining his or her relationship with one or more reference groups, and hence for his or her self-definition.

As emerges from studies carried out under the terms of the Education for Greeks Abroad project[20], rather than taking place in a vacuum, the self-definition of Greeks abroad and the formation of their identity (as in the case of every diaspora ethnic group) always occur in relation to:

- *people of other ethnicity in their social environment;*
- *people of the same ethnicity in their community*
- *the national centre.*

The categories according to which individuals or groups define themselves may be real or assumed. Greeks in the historical diaspora or the migrant counterpart with a long history need not necessarily display contemporary, discernible Greek-derived traits in order to define themselves as Greeks, or more precisely as also Greek.

To achieve that end, the symbols and symbolisms they have internalized within the terms of their socialization, in their families and communities, are sufficient. The myths and oral traditions - often in a language other than Greek - suffice for them to develop a sentiment and concept of self that allows them to define themselves as Greeks or "also Greeks".

Allegiance to origins, convictions, symbols and forms of symbolism is not quantitative. As qualitative characteristics, they are extremely powerful

definitional elements with regard to the definition of the self and identity.

In other words, Greekness in the sense of ethnocultural identity may be based on symbols and symbolisms. In that sense it may be termed *symbolic Greekness,* or more generally symbolic ethnicity.

The first thing that *symbolic ethnicity* means is belonging to a particular ethnic group. On the other hand, if it is to have any meaning for the individual, it must also be recognised by "others", i.e. by people of the same ethnicity in his or her community, by people of different ethnicity in the wider social environment and by members of the national centre. Of course, such recognition[21] is granted on the basis of certain qualities or characteristics; in short, on the basis of some ethnocultural identity content.

b) Analysis of ethnocultural identity on the content level

Before attempting the task of analyzing the content of the Greek diaspora ethnocultural identity, and more specifically the content of symbolic Greekness, it is necessary to point out the following:

- Attempts to analyse and comprehend the content of individual or group identity is both meaningful and legitimate from a pedagogic point of view, given that in the course of the pedagogic and educational process, particular contents are offered or transmitted to the individual. For example, knowledge of students' linguistic competence is a fundamental precondition for the use of suitable linguistic material and teaching planning.

- Examination of the Greek-origin content of diaspora Greek children in comparison with Greece-based culture leads to the impression that such children display a deficient knowledge base when compared to their counterparts in Greece. Yet such a conclusion is both highly ethnocentric and mistaken, as the knowledge-based content of diaspora Greek children may not necessarily refer to Greek language and culture.

- It follows that any approach to the content of ethnocultural identity linked to Greece-based culture, with the latter as a point of reference and comparison, is devoid of meaning. Such an approach only acquires meaning if attempted by the individuals themselves, the community

itself and the historical course and evolution of each historical or migrant diaspora, rather than from the point of view of the national centre.

- Finally, it should be pointed out that Greeks abroad lend content to their Greekness themselves, when asked or forced to defend it outwardly.

According to observations and experiences with teachers and above all pupils of Greek descent abroad, such contents are extremely wide-ranging, starting from contemporary discernible knowledge-based traits (such as language, knowledge of Greek history and tradition etc) and ending in myths, credos, symbols, convictions and sentimental baggage - in short, to a "cultural residue" (πολιτισμικό ελάχιστο).

On analysing the contents of this *cultural residue,* as it emerges through the speech and behaviour of Greeks abroad themselves, one ascertains that its main characteristics are sentimental and symbolic. There is of course the knowledge-based dimension, yet its bearers are not always aware of it.

For example, the self-definition of the Turkish-speaking Greek population in the villages of Tsalka in Georgia, or that of the Tatar-speaking Greek population in the villages of Mariupol in the Ukraine is not arbitrary because it has a basis in history, for the historical course of these populations is known to us[22].

Historical authenticity is the knowledge-based trait of the *cultural residue.* Yet this trait is not necessarily known, at least among younger generations of Greeks abroad, as has been determined through observations and small-scale research into Greek pupils from abroad participating in the educational programmes run by the *Education for Greeks Abroad* project[23].

Over the lengthy historical course of the diaspora, several composite traits of ethnocultural identity retreat or are lost, though not sentiment, allegiance to descent or oral tradition. In fact, it seems that oral tradition alone suffices for the formation of ethnocultural identity[24].

The above elements form the content of *symbolic ethnicity.* It is a *sentimental* content with qualitative rather than quantitative, measurable characteristics.

It is not hard to see that the *cultural residue,* as a trait for self-definition

and self-view differentiates its bearers from third parties who, for example, know the Greek language, history and culture, but do not define themselves as Greeks.

In that sense the *cultural residue* and *symbolic ethnicity* founded on it can serve as tools for qualitative analysis, but do not lend themselves to quantitative measurement[25].

Finally, it should be stressed that the *cultural residue* is the product of historical evolution, and as such appears to possess socialization power and to influence the formation of ethnocultural identity. Since it fulfills the definition of *historicity,* it may act as a legitimising agent for the process of an individual's self-definition, and thus as a token for the recognition of that process by others.

On the other hand, since it possesses socialisation power, it is pedagogically and educationally exploitable.

6.2 Limits and endurance of symbolic ethnicity

Symbolic ethnicity is functional in the diaspora and useful both for individual and group self-definition. As a product of myth-making and idealisation of the distant historical and cultural past, it may in fact even be compatible with the image others in the country of residence have of Greece, which they often look upon from the point of view of Ancient Greek civilisation. In such a case *symbolic ethnicity* is consistent with the remaining composite traits of social identity and is functional.

A problem may and does arise when bearers of *symbolic ethnicity* come face to face with Greekness as expressed in Greece itself.

Particularly in cases of "return migration" to Greece, there is the danger that symbolic ethnicity may collapse. This is because the individual finds him or herself confronted by a reality that has specific content, precepts and sanctions. It is precisely in this contradictory state of affairs that school failure among return migrant pupils should be considered.

Pupils may find themselves caught up in this contradiction between myth and reality not only when "returning" to Greece, but also while still residing abroad, given that the content that they are taught consists of contemporary Greece-based social and historical/cultural elements. Of

course, while residing abroad, pupils can dispense with this contradictory state of affairs by leaving Greek-language education classes (Schools). This is a phenomenon not uncommon at afternoon and Saturday Greek language classes.

From the above, the patently obvious conclusion from a pedagogic point of view is that if *ethnocultural identity* is to endure in environments beyond the family and the community, it must be enriched with contemporary linguistic, social and historical / cultural elements.

Symbolic Greekness can serve as the starting point for this process of enrichment, since it is accompanied by a positive stance and a sentimental relationship between the individual and everything Greek.

6.3 Versions of Greekness and the relationship between them: from Greece-centricity to "intra-Greek interculturalism"

In the end, we have at least three versions of Greekness:

a) Greekness as expressed in Greece by powerful groups in any given instance;

b) An extra-Greece and yet intensely Greece-centred Greekness and

c) An extra-Greece symbolic Greekness

One can easily imagine further intermediate versions, given that culture and identity are dynamic rather than static dimensions.

The political, cultural, educational and other repercussions and consequences of this state of affairs emerge when the question arises as to the relationship between these different versions of Greekness or, alternatively, between these multiple Greek identities.

If one does not wish to accept and promote the cultural norm in Greece as the only valid one, in other words, if one does not want a one-way, interventionist[26] relationship, but rather a two-way, dynamic association between the Centre and the diaspora, an *"expression of all the forces of Hellenism worldwide",* in accordance with paragraph 2, Article 108 of the Greek constitution, one is inevitably led to a process whereby the various versions of Greekness encounter and interact with one another.

This process can be summarized under the term "intra-Greek interculturalism". To be specific, the term intra-Greek interculturalism is to be understood as the dynamic process of encounter, interaction and mutual enrichment of the multiple versions of Greekness or, alternatively, the multiple Greek identities.

This intra-Greek encounter, interaction and mutual enrichment may occur in many different ways. The training programmes for Greek teachers from abroad and educational programmes for pupils of Greek descent, which have taken place, within the terms of the *Education for Greeks Abroad* project, represent one way. Another route is that taken by the Study Programs and teaching material. One concrete product of intra-Greek encounter and interaction is to be found in the procedures of the World Council of Hellenes Abroad and its networks, as already mentioned. One necessary precondition for the fulfilment of this process of intra-Greek cultural encounter, interaction and mutual enrichment is the existence of a two-way relationship on an equal footing between the two interacting parties. The crux of the matter is thus the relationship between the Centre and the diaspora.

7. Re-examining the relationship between the Centre and the Diaspora:

It should be stressed that the minimum common feature linking the many versions of Greekness *cultural residue,* the self-definition and the accompanying *symbolic ethnicity* resting thereupon.

If the common basis for the many Greek identities is to be probed, then the cultural residue must be enriched with contemporary traits, especially linguistic ones.

Intra-Greek interculturalism is thus offered as a suitable framework, this being in terms of *"cultural enrichment"*[27].

The attempt to enrich the cultural residue with contemporary linguistic and cultural traits mainly from Greece could lead to the admission that the cultural residue is tantamount to a *cultural deficit* on the side of Greeks from abroad, which must be compensated for.

Yet such an admission would not be valid, since Greeks abroad are not devoid of culture. They have simply developed a different culture. Beyond Greek-derived cultural traits, this contains, or more precisely contains primarily traits from the culture or cultures in the country of residence.

On the other hand, the opposite argument could be put forward that this is the "knowledge deficit" of Greeks abroad as regards contemporary Greece, the Greeks in Greece and contemporary Greek society. This is matched by a "knowledge deficit" on the part of Greeks in Greece as regards their counterparts abroad. Indeed, a "diaspora information deficit" certainly exists in Greece. For example, primary and secondary school pupils in Greece are taught next to nothing about the contemporary Greek diaspora.

A cursory comparison of the cultural residue with the diaspora information deficit reveals that the former is the result of the gradual and historically defined retreat of the Greek language and culture in the diaspora. In this sense, it is not a deficit. On the other hand, the diaspora information deficit does stem from deficient information provided to Greece-based Greeks on matters relating to the diaspora.

Regardless, in both cases the issue of compensating and enriching with missing knowledge traits remains a valid one. In the case of Greekness resting on the *cultural residue,* the issue is compensation through contemporary knowledge traits, so as to enable interaction and communication with the remaining versions of Greekness.

The idea of taking compensatory measures is thus valid for both parties, both the Centre and the diaspora. Yet compensation operating in both directions is the equivalent of mutual enrichment.

Mutual cultural enrichment means that just as Greek pupils abroad are enriched with historical, social, cultural and linguistic traits drawn from Greece, so pupils in Greece can be enriched with historical, social, political and cultural traits drawn from the Greek communities in the diaspora.

Given the above analyses, and Greece-based education and Greek-language education in the diaspora, the following educational policy injunction could be formulated:

Contemporary Greek ecumenical education:

starting out from *a) the multiple Greek identities with a limited common knowledge base,*
b) the global politico-economic, cultural and linguistic environment taking shape,

through the process *of intra-Greek cultural encounter, interaction and mutual enrichment,*

should contribute *a) to the formation of Greek identities which are enriched and have an expanded common basis,*
b) to the definition of the role played by Greeks worldwide in the new global politico-economic and cultural environment taking shape,
c) to the development and promotion of the Greek language, and thereby of Greek culture in the supra-national environment.

According to the above, educational as well political/educational *"resolution"* the desired aim is the instigation of two-way cultural enrichment, for the maintenance of the multiple versions of Greekness, and the simultaneous expansion of a common base, mainly through enrichment using knowledge-based traits, though also with symbolic-based ones.

Naturally such an approach does not restrict what is conventionally known as "Hellenism" and "Greekness" within the borders of Greece. Instead, it places the above phenomena where they genuinely manifest themselves, and examines them as they are, and as they are linked with the languages, cultures, and history in the countries of residence. In short, it examines them within a supra-national and intercultural framework.

In addition, a multi-focal approach of this type does not lead to homogenisation; it leaves the field open for the formation and maintenance of multiple identities, while the common base is maintained or expanded through their constant interaction and mutual enrichment.

In this sense, intra-Greek interculturalism is a dynamic process, a constant *dialogical relationship* among Greeks in the diaspora and with Greece, their

"maternal" centre. This kind of process is necessary nowadays because it does not seem that the future will be acted out within the framework of a national state and go no further, but rather within the framework of a global, multi-faceted society.

Though new to many people, this state of affairs is not new to Greeks, for Hellenism has always been globalized. That fact was simply forgotten following the foundation and consolidation of the Modern Greek state, and in particular after the collapse of "greater Hellenism", the population exchange in the wake of the Asia Minor Disaster and the resultant homogenization of the population in Greece.

Yet when the centre discovered its diaspora, mainly after the fall of the military junta in 1974, it treated that diaspora with a welfare mentality. *"The state cares for the life of Greeks abroad and the preservation of ties with the Mother Country,"* according to Article 108, paragraph 1 in the 1975 Greek Constitution.

Since that time, many developments have taken place in the global, European and Greek arena. Diasporic Hellenism does have need of cultural support, but not of overall welfare, as the 1975 Constitution ordains. On the other hand, in some cases diaspora Hellenism may in turn care for the centre.

Neglected *historical diaspora Hellenism* emerged in the wake of post-Cold War developments. At this point in time it does have need of support, though not in the spirit of charity, but rather within the framework of a comprehensive view of the relationship among the diaspora Greeks and with the centre.

The desired aim is a new ecumenism. And at the present juncture in history, the route to the formation of this new ecumenism appears to be via the process of intra-Greek encounter, interaction and mutual enrichment.

To the degree that this process occurs on the basis of mutual exchange on an equal footing, it will permit the expression of Greeks worldwide. It will allow for multiple narratives on Greekness and new configurations, plus a redefinition of the role and activity of Hellenism in the global environment now taking shape.

The ecumenism arising from the above process is to a great extent free of ethnocentric traits, and cannot be castigated as "Panhellenism", since the cultures of diaspora Greeks are a priori an intercultural product, arising on

each occasion from the encounter and interaction of the versions of Greek culture with versions of the culture in each country of residence.

In conclusion, it can be argued that the relationship formed via intra-Greek encounter, interaction and mutual enrichment between Greek diasporas and with the Centre does not lie within centre-periphery thinking, or that of the planet and its satellites, nor within the thinking of autonomous diasporas.

On the other hand, one cannot of course overlook developments such as those described by Kitroeff in the USA (see note 18). At present, two trends may be seen: one towards autonomy of the diasporas, and another towards their inter-networking. The experience accumulated through the *Education for Greeks Abroad* project suggests that the Greek diasporas are not always autonomous entities independent of each other; in many cases the trend is towards their becoming a network in common with Greece, in global politico-economic and cultural life.

In other words, there is a trend for Greece and the diasporas to form a supra-national network, which will not only be possessed of common cultural and ideological traits; in contrast with the past, it may also acquire common material (economic) gate tower in the global economic environment now taking shape.

The network of Greeks worldwide now being formed is not isolated but rather integrated into the global politico-economic and cultural web, given that with few exceptions, diaspora communities are already integrated into politico-economic and cultural life in the countries of residence.

On the other hand, the inter-networking of Greeks worldwide is not tantamount to "neo-nationalism" or "Panhellenism", given that the culture of diaspora Greeks is a priori the product of encounter and interaction between different cultures.

8. Conclusion

As stressed in the Introduction, the ideas put forward in the present study are based on research carried out and experience acquired within the *Education for Greeks Abroad project.*

Nevertheless, that research, and the *Education for Greeks Abroad* project in

general, present an inherent weakness. They do not refer to a representative sample of the population of Greek descent abroad. Instead, these projects mainly relate to individuals of Greek descent who participate in community life, and above all to the various forms of Greek-language education.

In the first phase of the *Education for Greeks Abroad* project, in the 1997/8 school year, strenuous efforts were made to include in our research families of Greek descent whose children did not attend any form of Greek-language education. Nonetheless, the results of those attempts were negligible.

As a result of the above, we know very little about that category of individuals and families of Greek origin who have distanced themselves from the Greek communities and have more or less been assimilated into the host country society.

On the basis of the limited evidence at our disposal, together with the observations and experiences of the research assistants in the *Education for Greeks Abroad* project, we can argue that many of the members in this category do possess what we delineated as a *"cultural residue"* and *"symbolic ethnicity"*. Nevertheless, they use the above to define themselves and determine their relationship with society in the country of residence and the members of the Greek community in each case, and less to determine their relationship with Greece, their country of origin.

Members of the group in question appear to possess a historical memory and a *symbolic Greekness;* they have need of them in order to be psychologically balanced and socio-culturally functional as full members of the host society, but not so as to act as "receivers" of communication from the centre or as its cultural and political partners.

NOTES

1. For example, in *Επισκόπηση της Ιστορίας της Νεοελληνικής Διασποράς*, Θεσσαλονίκη, Βάνιας, 1993 (p.19), I. K. Hasiotis writes: «The terms diaspora is used to refer in general ...to that part of the Greek people, which, though it left the country for various reasons and settled, even if on a relatively permanent basis, in countries or areas outside national territory, continued in various ways to maintain its material, cultural or at least sentimental ties with the mother country and the country of direct or earlier descent.».

2. The above definition is a differentiated and enriched version of that given by Hettlage. See Hettlage Robert, *diaspora: Umrisse einer soziologischen Theorie*, in: Österreichische Zeitschrift für Soziologie H3/ 1991 (pp. 4-24).

3. For example, in *«The Formation of the National and Cultural Identity of the Greek Children Abroad»,* in Rigas A – V (ed.), *Education of Ethnic Minorities: Unity and Diversity*, Ellinika Grammata, Athens, 1999 (pp. 87-98), Damanakis used the terms "national identity" and "cultural identity" to analyse earlier attempts by Greek governments to intervene in the diaspora and mould a new Greek national identity in the younger generation.

4. On this tri-pole relationship, see Hettlage, as above, p.6 ff.. On the characteristics of diasporas and their relationships with the place of origin (the "mother country" or "cradle"), see relevant analyses by Robin Cohen, *Global diaspora,* Routledge, London 2001.

5. The "double loyalty" dilemma arises in periods of crisis between two countries or between the community and the host country, when the members of a community are directly or indirectly pressurised to take one side or the other.

6. On this issue, see Alexander Kitroeff,Stephanos Constantinides, "The Greek-Americans and US Foreign Policy Since 1950", *Études helléniques/Hellenic Studies,* vol.6,no.1(Montreal,1998), Alexandros Kitroeff, «Ο *ρόλος του Ελληνο-Αμερικανικού Λόμπι στην Εξωτερική Πολιτική των ΗΠΑ, 1992-2001»*, in Tsakonas, Panayiotis (ed.), *Σύγχρονη Ελληνική Εξωτερική Πολιτική – Μια Συνολική Προσέγγιση*, vol. I, Αθήνα, Ι. Σιδέρη 2003 (pp. 395-420) and his: *Η Ελληνοαμερικανική πολιτισμική ταυτότητα τη δεκαετία του 1990*, in Damanakis, M., Kardasis V., Michelakaki, Th., Hourdakis, A. (ed.) *Ιστορία της Νεοελληνικής Διασποράς. Έρευνα και Διδασκαλία*, ΕΔΙΑΜΜΕ., Ρέθυμνο, 2004 (vol. II, pp.89-96).

7. See Svoronos, Nikos, *Επισκόπηση της Νεοελληνικής Ιστορίας*. Θεμέλιο, Αθήνα, 1981 (p.91). See also Hasiotis, as above, p. 28ff. and Tsoukalas, Κ. *Εξάρτηση και Αναπαραγωγή. Ο κοινωνικός ρόλος των εκπαιδευτικών μηχανισμών στην Ελλάδα (1830-1922)*, Θεμέλιο, Αθήνα, 1979.

8. Hasiotis, I.K., *Επισκόπηση της Ιστορίας της Νεοελληνικής Διασποράς*, Θεσσαλονίκη, Βάνιας, 1993, (p. 35ff.).

9. On Greeks in «Black Africa» and «Latin America» see: Markakis, Yiannis, *Έλληνες στη Μαύρη Αφρική 1890-1990*. Τροχαλίας, Αθήνα, 1998 and Tamis, Anastasios, *Οι Έλληνες της Λατινικής Αμερικής*. ΕΚΕΜΕ La Trobe University, Melbourne, 2005.

10. On these terms, see also Hasiotis, as above, p. 15ff. and Damanakis, M., *Ελληνικά Σχολεία και Τμήματα Μητρικής Γλώσσας στη Γερμανία (1986 - 98)*, Ε.ΔΙΑ.Μ.ΜΕ, Ρέθυμνο, 2004, (ch. 7).

11. “Cretans worldwide” were federated in Crete in August 2003.

12. The body responsible for these schools is the Greek State, and the Curricula are the same as those at schools in Greece. Graduates of the schools enter Greek university via special easy exams, which is why parents have a preference for them. See Damanakis ª., *Ελληνικά Σχολεία και Τμήματα Μητρικής Γλώσσας στη Γερμανία (1986 - 98)*, Ε.ΔΙΑ.Μ.ΜΕ, Ρέθυμνο, 2004, (p. 85ff.).

13. On the “parallel community” and “parallel network” phenomenon, see Damanakis, M., *Ελληνικά Σχολεία και Τμήματα Μητρικής Γλώσσας στη Γερμανία (1986 - 98)*, Ε.ΔΙΑ.Μ.ΜΕ, Ρέθυμνο, 2004, (p. 79ff.).

14. The WCH was formed under Presidential Decree 196/196/Α′ 105/13-06-1995 and operated for the first time in December of the same year.

15. The committee was formed in 1996 under the terms of the Greek parliamentary Rules of Order (Plenary Parliamentary decision on 20th June 1996-Governemnt Gazette 151 Α′ 08-07-1996).

16. The post of Special Secretary was instituted by Ministerial Decision ™Δ5/11/6-3-1995 (Government Gazette 171/18th March 1996), and the IEGAIE by law 2413/1996, article 5.

17. On organisations and networks, see: Ministry of Foreign Affairs. General Secretariat of Greeks Abroad: *Ταυτότητες Ομογενειακών Οργανώσεων*. 4th Global Meeting of the World Council of Hellenism (WCH). Thessaloniki, 6th-13th December 2001, and their: *Απόδημος Ελληνισμός: Στρατηγική Πολιτική και Στόχοι, Απολογισμός Δράσεως, Επιχειρησιακό Σχέδιο Δράσης 2001-2004*, Αθήνα Σεπτέμβριος 2001 (p. 30-34), as well as their: *Έλληνες Πολίτες του Κόσμου. Παγκόσμια Δίκτυα του Συμβουλίου Απόδημου Ελληνισμού. Νεολαίας-Γυναικών Ανθρώπων του Πολιτισμού Επιστημόνων και Επιχειρηματιών*. 3rd Meeting, 1st-8th December 1999, Thessaloniki.

18. On this issue, see Kitroeff, A., *Ο ρόλος του Ελληνο-Αμερικανικού Λόμπι στην Εξωτερική Πολιτική των ΗΠΑ, 1992-2001*, in Tsakonas, P. (ed.), *Σύγχρονη Ελληνική Εξωτερική Πολιτική – Μια Συνολική Προσέγγιση*, vol. I, Ι. Σιδέρη Αθήνα, 2003, (pp. 395-420) and his: *Η Ελληνοαμερικανική πολιτισμική ταυτότητα τη δεκαετία του 1990*, in Damanakis, M., Kardasis, V., Michelakaki, Th., Hourdakis, A., (ed.), *Ιστορία της Νεοελληνικής Διασποράς. Έρευνα και Διδασκαλία*, ΕΔΙΑΜΜΕ, Ρέθυμνο, 2004, (vol. II, pp. 89 - 96).

19. On the “parallel communities” phenomenon and their role in educational policy and socialisation, see Damanakis, M., *Ελληνικά Σχολεία και Τμήματα Μητρικής Γλώσσας στη Γερμανία (1986-98)*. Ε.ΔΙΑ.Μ.ΜΕ., Ρέθυμνο, 2004, (p. 79 ff.).

20. On this, see Damanakis, M., *Εκφάνσεις της Ελληνικότητας. Μεταξύ της ελλαδικής, πολιτισμικής νόρμας και του «πολιτισμικού ελάχιστου»*, in Constantinidis, S., Pelagidis,

Th., (ed.), *Ο Ελληνισμός στον 21ο αιώνα*. Παπαζήσης, Αθήνα, 2000, (pp. 389-417).

21. Recognition of identity by others is of vital importance for both the individual and the group, for as stressed by T. Taylor in *Πολυπολιτισμικότητα* (εκδόσεις Πόλις, Αθήνα 1997, σ.79 κ.ε), the determination of identity is carried out within the framework of a dialogical relationship with Others. This dialogical relationship is an essential element for the individual's self-realisation and the recognition of his or her identity.

22. On the historical course of these populations, see Kessidis, Th., *Η Ιστορική Πορεία των Ελληνοποντίων. Το εθνικό ζήτημα και το μέλλον των μικρών εθνών στην πρώην Σοβιετική Ένωση.* Αφοι Κυριακίδη, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1996, Fotiadis, K., *Ο Ελληνισμός της Κριμαίας Μαριούπολη, δικαίωμα στη μνήμη.* Ηρόδοτος, Αθήνα, 1990, Hasiotis, I.K., *Επισκόπηση της Ιστορίας της Νεοελληνικής Διασποράς*. Βάνιας, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1993, Hasiotis, I.K., (ed.), *Οι Έλληνες της Ρωσίας και της Σοβιετικής Ένωσης.* University Studio Press, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1997.

23. The fact that younger generations of Turkic-speaking Greeks in the villages of Tsalka in Georgia, or those of the Tatar-speaking Greeks in the villages of Mariupol in Georgia, or of the now Russian-speaking Greeks in southern Russia still possess what we delineated as a "*cultural residue*" and the "*symbolic ethnicity*" resting thereupon seems in the main to owe its existence to family and community oral tradition. This phenomenon requires more systematic research and could perhaps be condensed within the term "*orality of tradition*".

24. It is obvious that the cultural residue is of a subjective psychological nature and does not lend itself to quantitative measurement. Yet even as a unit of measurement it would not be of any practical use, since its users would be forced to seek out each individual separately, so as to determine if each was a bearer of the cultural residue and if he or she self-defines him or herself as a Greek on that basis.

25. The one way, interventionist relationship between the Centre and the diaspora is expressed on the educational level as an attempt to transmit Greece-based educational contents to diaspora Greek children. Such an attempt is however condemned to fail, since these contents are to a great extent alien to the children's experiences, life, representations and needs and thus do not motivate them to learn. If one insists on such contents nevertheless, there is every danger that the students will be lost.

26.The term "cultural enrichment" originates in the intercultural pedagogic approach. Its intent is to serve as an alternative solution to the assimilation and national homogenisation mentality. See Hohmann, M., *Interkulturelle Erziehung –eine Chance für Europa?,* in Hohmann M./Reich H.H. (ed.), *Ein Europa für Mehrheiten und Minderheiten. Diskussionen um interkulturelle Erziehung.* Waxmann Wissenschaft, München, 1989, (p.1-32).

A Presentation of the Paideia Omogenon Program

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article fournit le cadre légal, historique et pedagogique du Programme Paideia Omogenon du Gouvernement Grec. L'auteur souligne en détail la philosophie et l'application du programme dans la diaspora, depuis la création du matériel didactique et son application expérimentale sur le terrain jusqu'au perfectionnement des enseignants. Elle met l'emphase sur les différentes étapes d`application du programme et l'importance de la création de matériel s`appuyant sur les réalités de la diaspora grecque. Elle conclut en présentant des resultats receuillis après sept ans de l'existence du programme.

ABSTRACT

This article provides the legal, historical and pedagogical background to the Paideia Omogenon Program of the Greek Government. The author outlines in detail the philosophy and application of the program in the diaspora, from material design and field testing to teacher training, building on the realities of the Greek diaspora. She concludes with results gathered after seven years of the program's existence.

Introduction

Paideia Omogenon is one of the many educational programs funded by the European Union and the Greek government. This program targets groups of students with cultural and linguistic particularities, such as those of Muslim and Gypsy origin, immigrants residing in Greece, as well as repatriated Greeks; i.e., those who have returned to their homeland or those who continue to live abroad.

The main subjects of the program *Paideia Omogenon* are people of Greek descent in different countries outside Greece. The program's main goal is to maintain, develop and promote the Greek language and culture within these groups through the improvement of the primary and secondary education already provided.

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The implementation of the specific program began in June 1997, and continued until December 2004. It was funded by the Greek Ministry of Education (25 %) and the European Union (75 %).

The Ministry of Education, with its various departments, supervises the program, while its implementation has been assigned to the University of Crete and more specifically to the Centre of Intercultural and Migration Studies (E.DIA.M.ME.) at the Primary Education Department of the University under the direction of Professor Michali Damanaki.

1. Implementation network and components of the project

The organization of the implementation of this project is based on two components: one based in Greece and the other, abroad. This type of organization reflects the underlying philosophy of a mutual and equal interaction between the centre (Greece) and the diaspora.

The centre (Greece) consists of the Ministry of Education that supervises the project, the University of Crete that has undertaken the scientific responsibility and the implementation of the project, and the central committee that follows the general course of the project and more specifically coordinates the tasks of each individual work group that has come together according to the operational specifications of the project (see Table 1).

The diaspora consists, on one hand, of the representatives of the Greek Ministry of Education, the Coordinators of Education, who coordinate the project's application abroad by organizing educational seminars for teachers that teach the Greek language, distributing the educational material developed to the Greek schools abroad, and collecting evaluations of the material by the teachers who actually use them. On the other hand, it consists of the regional committees, which are based in every country, whose members are specialists, involved with universities and other institutions that deal with the Greek language. These specialists contribute to the project by following the general course of the project, while at the same time guiding the work groups abroad.

The contact and interaction between the groups that act in the centre (Greece) and the groups in the diaspora is constant and systematic. Once a year, the central committee meets with the regional committees and the

members of the work groups, within the framework of the Scientific Work Meeting at the University of Crete. At this meeting, work completed in the previous year and the course of the project is discussed. Goals for the following year are then set. Also, the educational material designed and developed by the work groups at the centre are evaluated and applied by teachers abroad while specialized scientists from the centre evaluate the material developed by the work groups in the diaspora. Finally, within the framework of various conventions and one-day/two-day conferences, the scientific committees of the project are given the opportunity to meet, exchange views, acquire new specialized knowledge and determine the theoretical axis upon which the various components of the project are implemented.

The different components of the *Paideia Omogenon* project refer to the development of educational materials in print and electronic format, the training of Greek teachers who are sent to work in the Greek schools abroad (assigned/seconded teachers), the training of Greek teachers who have graduated from universities abroad and teach Greek in Greek schools in their area (teachers of the same descent), the implementation of educational programs for Greek students living abroad, as well as the development of learning networks, databases and possibilities for on-line learning through the Internet and satellite television.

The project is comprised of three main activity areas, each is supported by a set of horizontal sub-activities designed to support the project as a whole.

Table 1: Summarized table of the activity areas of the project

serial no	**Title of Activity Area**	**Subject of Activity Area**
I	ATHINA	Programs of Study and Educational Materials
II	PROMITHEAS	Training of Teachers and Educational Programs for Students
III	HERMES	Databases, Networks and e-learning Courses
IV	HORIZONTAL SUB-ACTIVITIES	

Activity area I, *Athina,* is concerned with the creation of the programs of study and the development of educational materials in print and electronic format for the teaching of Greek as a second and foreign language and for the teaching of the Greek history and culture in primary and secondary schools.

Activity area II, *Promitheas*, refers to the training of Greek teachers seconded from the homeland to work abroad, the guidance and further training of teachers working and residing abroad, as well as the organization and implementation of educational training programs for students of Greek descent who live abroad.

Activity area III, *Hermes*, has as a main objective the development of different forms of e-learning for teachers living abroad, as well as the development of databases and communication networks through the World Wide Web.

Finally, the horizontal sub-activities support the development and implementation of the project as a whole and refer to scientific meetings, conferences, one-day conferences, as well as the evaluation of the project.

2. Institutional framework of the Paideia Omogenon Program

Law 2413/1996 and its theoretical basis

The institutional framework according to which *Paideia Omogenon* was designed and implemented is Law 2413 "Greek education abroad, intercultural education and other provisions" (FEK 124/A/17-6-1996).

Law 2413 has two components. The first part is concerned solely with "Greek education abroad", while the second refers to the "intercultural education of repatriated and immigrant students living in Greece".

The first part is directly related to the program *Paideia Omogenon* (*see chapter 3.3.*) and, as it happens, not only from a legal perspective but also from the Explanatory Report, which is always more elaborate. Indeed, lawmakers aim at implementing Greek education abroad on new grounds. They accomplish this by acknowledging the multicultural reality of modern societies and aspiring to the "recognition of the diversity of immigrants, the acceptance of cultural pluralism, and the implementation of intercultural

education" (*see Explanatory Report, page 1*).

The acceptance of the multiculturalism of modern societies, on the one hand, and the need for the implementation of the principles of intercultural education, on the other, is a new pioneer way of thinking, and is a milestone for the Greek education reality, both within Greece and abroad.

The acceptance of multiculturalism within Greece is very important for the education of repatriated students as well as immigrants living in the country, because it shows that they are being acknowledged. This can lead to the implementation of intercultural principles not only in the education of repatriated and immigrant students in Greece, but also of the Greek students themselves. One thing, of course, which has to be clarified and clearly understood is how the policy advisors or lawmakers understand intercultural education within Greece, a topic beyond the scope of this article.

The acceptance of the need, on the other hand, to implement the principles of interculturalism in Greek language education of the Greeks living in the diaspora is as important given that the educational policies of the Greek government in the diaspora, until the year 1996, had a "welfare character" (M. Damanakis, 2004 a, 28-29). As the advocates of Law 2413 admit, this result was collective, damaging, bureaucratic and "standardized Greek education" abroad. Moreover the law failed to recognize or make use of the diversity of the pupils. By doing this, the richness of the customs and the knowledge of the Greek diaspora, was lost due to an educational orientation focused on the educational needs of Greek students living in Greece (*Explanatory Report, p. 1-2*).

Such a nationally focused educational system worked against a lot of Greek people's involvement in Greek language learning, including a lot of immigrants who could have had the opportunity to learn the language and culture. In addition, it did not accelerate the original goal, which should have been the integration of the children of the diaspora in their host societies. This means that Greeks in the diaspora should primarily help themselves in developing an identity that will suit their lifestyle in their host countries, which are usually multicultural and multilingual.

As advocates of the law stress themselves, a living example of the failure of such a collective and nationally focused educational system for the Greek

people in the diaspora is the Greek Public Schools which consist only of Greek students, e.g., in Germany. Given the way that these schools have been run, they create a ghetto in the societies in which they live, which results in the "seclusion of the younger generation and its inability to participate equally in the social, financial, political and cultural life of those countries" (*Explanatory Report*, p. 2).

Those in favour of the law, who criticize the institutional laws that had been in practice until 1996, highlight the fact that the specific nationally focused educational system in Greece has not produced positive results. They talk about a "flexible, effective system of Greek education" abroad which will have as a "nucleus the Greeks all over the world" (Explanatory Report, p. 2). In this sense, they stress the fact that the intervention will be *Greek-oriented* rather than *Greece-oriented*, as it was until 1996. At the heart of such an intervention, one can find culture that is developing within Greece, as well as the various Greek cultural manifestations that the Greeks in the diaspora have developed in the various host countries where they live. In fact, the law's advocates state that between Greece and the Greeks in the diaspora, close cultural relations will exist. Indeed, apart from the export of Greek cultural elements abroad there will also be "an assimilation from the Greeks living in Greece of the cultural elements that originate from the Greek people in the diaspora" (*Explanatory Report*, p.2).

The procedure of this two-way cultural relationship between the metropolitan centre and the diaspora, according to the academic director of the project, M. Damanakis, is called "intragreek interculturalism". By this, Damanakis means the "dynamic procedure of the encounter, interaction and *interenrichness* of the various manifestations of the Greekness or otherwise known as the multiple Greek identities" (M. Damanakis, 2004b, 45).

In addition, those in favour of the law state that the new educational intervention will be widely intercultural, because the various cultural manifestations of Greek descent will be in a two-way relationship with "cultural elements that stem from other cultures" (*Explanatory Report*, p. 2). More specifically, the "contribution of the Greek culture in the enrichment of a European and international culture" is stressed as well as "the equal treatment of other cultures with which our culture meets" (*Explanatory Report*, p. 3).

However, in the *Explanatory Report*, parallel to the intercultural

educational approach, there is discussion about a national educational approach that causes notional confusions (*see also* M. Damanakis, 2004a, 29). Confusion stems from the fact that both these approaches cannot coexist. They are two educational policies that contradict each other because within the frameworks of intercultural education, all cultures are dealt with on an equal basis, and students come in contact with more than one culture; whereas, in the framework of a national educational policy, each individual national culture is in the centre of any development happening in their schools.

In general, despite the fact that in the general spirit of the specific law, values and principles converge towards an intercultural approach, at some points there are references to a national educational policy (*Explanatory Report*, p.2).

These elements must be seen as consequences of a long-term application of a national educational policy in the diaspora which focused solely on the educational system in Greece. On the other hand, what we need to retain given its value, is the new perspective opening up for educational issues of an intercultural approach. Within this approach, other cultures, as well as the multiple cultural manifestations of the Greek people in the diaspora, are considered to be equal to Greek culture of the centre. Meanwhile, interaction between these elements is highly recommended in order to create a cultural *interenrichment*.

Of course, the translation of such an approach into an educational act presupposes important changes in the education of both the Greek people living in Greece as well as those in the diaspora. For the changes in the educational system of those in the diaspora, efforts are being made through *Paideia Omogenon (see chapter 3.3*) but care must be taken so that a change towards an intercultural direction of the educational acts in Greece is also achieved.

3. The Objectives of *Paideia Omogenon*

The goals for the Greek language education abroad stem from Law 2413 and are specified in greater detail by the program *Paedeia Omogenon* in two areas: the pedagogical and the socio-political.

As far as the pedagogical goals are concerned, *"Greek language education has the obligation to help primarily in the development of the individual in every way, in order for him/her to develop all of his/her abilities and to acquire an identity that will be in accordance with his/her bicultural and bilingual conditions of his/her socialization.*

As far as the socio-political goals are concerned "Greek language education has the obligation to contribute to the clarification and establishment of a relationship between the different communities in the Diaspora, as well as with their country of origin, Greece, and to a certain extent with the host country they are living in, within the framework of a universal existence." (M. Damanakis 2004 b, 55).

According to the program of study established within the framework of *Paedeia Omogenon*, the goal of the two cognitive subjects, *Language and Elements of History and Culture*, for which educational material is being developed, reads as follows:

"As far as the Language is concerned, the Greek language is offered to those of the same Greek descent (the same nationality) at a symbolic level as a cultural good, as a transmitter of cultural elements and meanings and as an enriching and synthesizing element of their national and cultural identity. At a cognitive level, it is offered as a linguistic system (structure, vocabulary, usage) and therefore as a means of communication and learning.

As far as the Elements of History and Culture are concerned, there is a selective offer of historical and cultural elements from Greece and the Diaspora, which aims at helping students develop a personal and social identity, which will coexist with the bicultural/multicultural conditions of their socialization and way of living. Also, it helps them realize their family's biography, as well as the history of their community and their place in the host country. Finally, it helps them get to know and realize the relationship between their community with the other Greek communities and with Greece and the history of Greek people inside and outside of Greece and their place and role in a universal existence" (M. Damanakis 2004b, 55).

This double goal setting characterizes the activities of the program, which will be presented below.

4. Application of law 2413/1996 through *Paideia Omogenon*

The *Paideia Omogenon* program is the official, approved educational intervention of the Greek government in the Greek diaspora. It is therefore natural that the implementation of the program interprets and applies the institutional framework for Greek language education in the diaspora.

4.1 Activity area I, Athina

If one studies Law 2413 and its *Explanatory Report*, it is clear that the advocates of the law recognize the inappropriateness of the educational material available to Greek students in the diaspora until 1996. The material "may be appropriate for the Greek students studying in Greece, but [is] inappropriate for the different conditions under which the Greek children in the Diaspora grow up" (*Explanatory Report*, p.4). In this way, "they propose the need to create new ways of teaching the Greek language, history and culture, ways which take into consideration the special conditions, sensitivities and cultures which are connected with the Greek culture in the Diaspora, as well as with the interest of many philhellenes" (*Explanatory Report*, p. 4-5).

The essential point is that the books designed and developed for the diaspora will represent the authentic conditions in which the children using the books are socialized.

The activity area of *Paideia Omogenon*, which is directly connected to the development of curriculum and the development of teaching materials for the teaching of Greek as a second or foreign language and for the teaching of Elements of History and Culture in primary and secondary education, is *activity area I, Athina* (*see Table 1).*

The teaching material developed within the framework of this activity area have an intercultural and cross-subject orientation and aim at meeting up to the particular bicultural and bilingual conditions of socialization of the children they refer to. For this reason, the subjects of the specific educational materials are taken from three sociocultural areas: their country of origin, their host country and the Greek community. The selection and use of subjects from these three areas, ensures not only an intercultural approach but also a cross-subject reference. In this way, teachers are given the ideas and tools to deal with eating habits in ancient Greece, in modern Greece, in Melbourne, in

the Greek community of Melbourne and in other ethnic communities in Melbourne, such as the Chinese (M. Damanakis 2004b, 56-59).

In addition, the systematic effort made concerning specific instructional materials should be underscored. This effort focuses on the cultivation of a common cultural base for Greeks everywhere, with the use of common subjects for all the students, in the *Core or Identity Materials*. On the opposite side, an effort is being made to learn and cultivate diversity, meaning the particular socio-cultural elements of history and literature of every Greek community in every host country. This is achieved through the *Diversity Materials* which accompany the *Core Materials*, enriching them with those particular elements, which can also be used independently (M. Damanakis 2004b, 73-74).

Another measure recommended by Law 2413/1996 is the design of books by "mixed committees and in cooperation with specialized scientists from both Greece and abroad" (Law 2413, clause 4, par. 1). This refers to a fundamental and essential parameter for the spirit of the intercultural theory that *Paideia Omogenon* implements to a great extent. It is achieved by creating mixed design groups with specialists from both Greece and other countries depending on the series of the teaching materials. As a result, in every series of teaching materials, especially for the design of the *Core Materials*, the knowledge and experiences of the Greeks living in Greece are mostly used, as they are the ones that are more familiar with the structure of the Greek language, the Greek history and the sociocultural elements of Greece. For the design of the *Diversity Materials*, the knowledge and experience of those specialists who live abroad is mostly used, because they are the people that know best the history of the Greek community, the particular sociocultural conditions of the countries they reside in and the particular linguistic and sociocultural needs of the students for whom the materials are being designed.

In fact, *Paideia Omogenon*, in as much as bureaucracy has permitted, advanced mostly by piloting the developed materials to the groups of students for whom they were designed. By doing so, each design team had feedback from teachers who participated in field testing the material. This is a very important link in the design of any instructional material. Before it leaves the hands of the designer it has been tested and evaluated, in an initial phase, by the end-users, both students and teachers.

At this point, it should be mentioned that cooperation with specialists from abroad was not confined to the design of the books, but was constant and permanent throughout the project and expanded to the field of research.

The creation of the target groups for the design of the educational material and their boundary setting is mainly a result of continuous investigations of the linguistic and cultural basis, as well as the educational needs, of the students. The target-groups for which the curriculum was created and for which the educational material is being designed and developed are the following:

1. Students of the same origin in pre-school and elementary education with limited communication ability in Greek.

2. Students of the same origin in secondary education with limited communication ability in Greek.

3. Students of the same origin in primary and secondary education with no linguistic knowledge of the Greek language and with few or "no" Greek cultural background.

4. Students of different origin/language, in primary and secondary education that are learning the Greek language.

Based on these target-groups and by dealing methodologically with groups 3 and 4 as one target-group, three Curriculums for the Language were organized with respective series of instructional materials for:

1. the teaching of Greek as a Second Language (GSL) in primary and secondary education (series: *Pragmata kai Grammata* and the Diversity Materials).

2. the teaching of GSL in Intensive Courses in secondary education (series: *Ellinika me tin parea mou*).

3. the teaching of Greek as a Foreign language in primary education (series: Margarita).

As far as the Elements of History and Culture are concerned for primary and secondary education, they are designed for all target-groups, which consist of the Core Materials with the title "Emeis kai oi Alloi" and the

Diversity Materials with the title "Apo ti zoi ton Ellinon tis Diasporas" (see M. Damanakis 2004 b: 60-65 and 71-74).

4.2 Activity area II, Promitheas

The philosophy of *activity area II, Promitheas*, is based on clause 4, par. 1d, of Law 2413, where "the training and further education of Greek teachers that will be detached and those of the same or different origin that live abroad permanently" is discussed, and on the other side on clause 9, where the opportunity is given for the organization of "exchange programs involving Greek students and teachers from Greece and students and teachers of Greek or foreign origin from other countries".

More specifically, the groups that are trained are:

a) detached/seconded teachers (also see clause 20), who are the main communicators of the Greek language and culture, who follow intensive programs to get informed on conditions in the host countries where they will be working and the philosophy of the program, before their departure from Greece.

b) teachers of Greek origin (also see clause 21), who are the main communicators of the diasporic Greek reality, where their educational background as well as their knowledge of the Greek language knowledge vary. Through the program, these teachers may participate in temporary training seminars of 30-40 people that take place in Greece for three weeks approximately, in the training that takes place abroad for one or two days, or in long-term training sessions for 10-15 people, that take place only in Greece for four to five months.

The seminars that the teachers of Greek descent follow aim at bringing them in contact with Greece, the Greek language, and Modern Greek culture but also, more generally speaking, with Greek culture. For this reason, they participate in an intensive program that consists of courses on the structure and teaching of the language, on Greek history and the philosophy of the linguistic and cultural material designed by the program. In addition to this, they also visit historical monuments in Greece.

Within the framework of *activity area II, Promitheas*, students of Greek origin participate in educational hospitality programs in Greece, which last

a total of three weeks. These programs seek to provide the opportunity to Greek students in the diaspora to come in contact with authentic speakers of the language, to get synchronized with their Greek classmates, to interact culturally amongst themselves and to get to know elements of the general Greek culture.

It should be emphasized that there is an increasing need for constant and systematic training of both teachers of Greek descent in the diaspora, as well as those who teach in various areas of the Greek education system abroad. Most often, these teachers do not speak the Greek language well enough or do not have the necessary teaching background to work as teachers of the Greek language, but they do so for the needs of Greek education abroad.

4.3 Activity area III, Hermes

The types of training that are recommended within the framework of *activity area II, Promitheas* are both very costly and time consuming if all Greek teachers living abroad are to be trained, at least once. At the same time, the lifespan of such educational programs cannot be ensured. For this reason, Law 2413 suggests the "exploitation of new technologies with the preparation and organization of different types of training from a distance" (*Explanatory Report*, p. 3). *Activity area III, Hermes*, develops this function systematically.

More specifically, in the framework of the program, learning materials and the necessary substructures have been developed on the World Wide Web for the continuous training of teachers who teach Greek as a second and foreign language through e-learning. Based on the initial plan, learning materials were designed and developed for three courses:

a) Socialization and Education in the Diaspora

b) Historical paths in the Greece of yesterday

c) Topics in Modern Greek Literature

This material was designed to work in an environment with both synchronous and asynchronous e-learning, whose goal is to create a "learning community" on the web between istructors of Greek descent working all over the world and teaching the Greek language. Within the framework of this "community", all teachers of Greek descent will have the

opportunity to communicate with their colleagues, as well as with special scientists (Damanakis & Anastasiades, 2005). They will be able to discuss educational questions and issues of daily concern and also get trained on specialized subject matters that will help them in their job

Also, all the learning materials and articles that have been published within the program can be found online, for the support of e-learning (synchronous and asynchronous) but also for those who wish to get generally informed (http://www.uoc.gr/diaspora).

5. Results of the Paideia Omogenon Program

After seven years of implementation, *Paideia Omogenon* is approaching the completion of its original goals.

More specifically, for *activity area I, Athina*, and concerning the teaching of Greek as a Second language in primary and secondary education, the educational materials up to and including grade 8 (4th level) have been completed with books for the student, activity books, teacher's books, as well as additional materials in CD-ROM format. Similarly, the materials up until the grade four(2nd level) for the teaching of Greek as a foreign language in primary education have also been completed.

In terms of linguistic material for the teaching of Greek as a second language in intensive courses in secondary education for children ages 12 to 16, they were completed according to the initial goals set. Three linguistic manuals as well as a grammar book were developed to suit the three levels of students who would participate in the courses.

Also, for Greek students ages 5 to 7 who are studying abroad to have initial contact with the Greek language and culture, the first part (consisting of 15 episodes) of a television-based educational tool was designed to be projected by satellite TV or DVD players or even personal computers.

For the teaching of history and culture, the core course materials have been completed up to and including the eighth grade (4th level) with books for students and additional material in CD-ROM format. Also, materials on *Diversity* have been designed and developed for the eight countries in which

the program is active and where the presence of Greek people in the diaspora is significant.

Within the framework of *activity area II, Promitheas*, six educational seminars for the Greek detached teachers were implemented, educational seminars for the Coordinators of Greek Education abroad, eleven educational seminars for the Greek teachers of the diaspora held in Greece and fifty-one held abroad. In addition, two programs were implemented for further training of teachers of Greek or other origin at the University of Crete, as well as, twelve educational programs for students of Greek descent and six Student theater festivals.

As part of *activity area III, Hermes*, databases, such as the database of scientific studies, learning materials, educational bibliographies, schools and other agents of Greek language education, as well as a list of teachers and students of Greek descent have been designed (http://www.uoc.gr/diaspora). In these databases one can also find the material developed for *activity area I, Athina*, as well as informative material gathered within the framework of *activity area II, Promitheas*. In addition, a platform has been designed for e-learning courses (synchronous and asynchronous) using the principles of distance-learning methodology (Anastasiades, 2005), for teachers of Greek descent, for the teaching of Greek and Greek culture.

Finally, as part of the horizontal sub-activities, seven "Scientific Work Meetings", two international conferences, five international 2-day conferences and one daily conference have taken place. An overall evaluation was also done under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, from people outside the program *Paideia Omogenon*, the results of which were very positive.

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Greek Education in the United States

Nikos Nikolidakis *

ABSTRACT

This detailed portrait of the American situation presents the poignant history of Greek immigration. The author focuses on various community efforts to sustain language and culture among the children of immigrants and subsequent generations. He underscores the level of organization involved in the early years as well as the perceived role of the Orthodox church. Overall the article presents well-documented figures and points to a hopeful future for Greek language learning despite a decrease in student populations.

RÉSUMÉ

Ce portrait détaillé de la situation américaine présente l'histoire poignante de l'immigration grecque. L'auteur se concentre sur divers efforts deployés par la communauté afin de soutenir l'enseignement de la langue et de la culture parmi les enfants des immigrants et des générations subséquentes. Il souligne le niveau d'organisation impliqué au debut aussi bien que le rôle joué par l'église Orthodoxe. Dans l'ensemble l'article présente des statistiques bien documentées et se termine sur une note optimiste quant à l'avenir de l'apprentissage de la langue grecque en dépit d'une diminution de la population étudiante.

1. A brief history

The first Greek settlement in America was in Florida, in 1768, when approximately five hundred Greek immigrants from Coron (Κορώνη), Peloponnesus, arrived as colonists under the aegis of the Scottish Dr Andrew Tumbull and his Greek wife Maria. The colonists (Greeks, Corsicans and Mallorcans) arrived at the northeast part of the state of Florida. They named their colony New Smyrna. Many other Greek merchants, traders and refugees from the Turkish persecution came the next decades to US and were found everywhere from New Orleans to Boston and from New York to San Francisco.

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It should be noted that for research purposes, Greek immigration to the United States is divided into "old immigrants," who arrived in US between 1880 and 1920, and two waves of "new immigrants." Before 1880, there had been only about 1,000 Greek immigrants in America, and the only communities were merchants found in port cities.

The first official reference to organized Greeks in the United States is in an article from *New York Daily Times* (1856), with the title *"The Great National Agricultural Fair at Philadelphia."* The reporter in this article states that *"Here at this exhibition in the few hours I have seen it, Irish, French, German, Italians, Spaniards, Greeks, Negroes-free and runaway of every variety of color, from the dull black of Africa to the light copper of Alabama, come thick on each other and surpass in strange material the witches' caldron in "Macbeth."*

Also, the first report about the immigration to the USA comes from the New York Times, (1873) with huge information under the title "GREEK SAILORS-THE PRINCIPAL GREEK COLONIES-THEIR LOVE FOR THEIR NATIVE LAND.". Among other information the reporter informs the New Yorkers about the cities in which the Greeks live, their jobs, their plans, and the strength of family ties:

"Comparatively little is known about the Greeks in America. Reference is made occasionally in the daily Press to the Greek merchants of this City, whose enormous transactions in cotton and grain form an important item in the exports of the country; but beyond that we seldom see a Greek name coming before the public in the daily incidents of this cosmopolitan City."

The article gives also information regarding their hopes, objectives and family ties. *"…Their first care is to send the little which they can spare to their families in Greece… The love of their country is one of the strong characteristics of the Greeks; they emigrate under compulsion to better their condition, but the hope to return one day to their country under more comfortable circumstances is always strong and paramount."*

The first difficult years

From 1880 to 1890, there would be an increase of 20,000 Greek immigrants, and from 1900 to 1924, approximately 520,000 Greeks immigrated to United States. They would be joined by an additional 30,000 from 1924 to 1946.[1] One can estimate that probably 100,000 more arrived illegally or on passports

not indicating their Greek nationality. There are hundreds of immigrants of Crete from 1880 to 1910 whose names appear in the Ellis Island Web Site's list and they are registered as coming from Crete/Turkey!

Only 7.7 percent of all the Greeks admitted to the United States between 1898 and 1910 were identified as being in skilled occupations. For the first Greek immigrants, the American West, that region of free land and free labour, had become instead a mocking backdrop to their suffering, a place whose oppressions seemed even worse than what they had recently escaped from their motherland. As we read in *New York Times* (1873) they did not find in the new country what they were expecting by traveling to the New World: *Gold in the streets of California !*

"The Greek colony in San Francisco numbers about 300 members, and is the best organized of all the Greek colonies in the States of the Union. They maintain a little chapel of their own, and have established a benevolent society. This hitter was rendered necessary from the quantity of new-comers of their countrymen to the Golden State, with the hope of finding gold in abundance. It is strange with what great expectations these children of Hellas go to California, and their disappointment in not finding gold in the streets of San Francisco can be better imagined than described. They seem utterly astonished when they are told that they must work in San Francisco, as everywhere else, to gain their living, and the idea of gold is so deeply rooted in them, that many go to the mines of California and Oregon with the hope of enriching themselves one day by some sudden smile of fortune."

Their suffering is also known from the ways padrones controlled immigrant workers with contracts and a legal system to create coercive labor relations. In the spring of 1911, these methods incited 50 Greek copper miners from Bingham Canyon, Utah, to write an angry letter to the governor of Utah, William S. Spry, demanding his intervention against their padrones, Leon Skliris, nicknamed *Czar of the Greeks:*

"…Do you think this is right for Skliris to sell livelihoods to the poor workman at extortion 20 dollars and to thus suck the blood of the poor laborer? Where are we? In the free country of America or in a country dominated by a despotic form of government."[2]

Their questions to Governor Spry underscore just how padrones had turned their expectations of free labor in "America" into a a nightmare : In

signing work contracts, Greek workers found, instead of freedom, endless deductions from their wages.

The two Waves of Greek Immigration

The First Wave of new immigrants, approximately 150,000 in number-half of them illegal- arrived between 1947 and 1965. The Second Wave, totaling 160,000, arrived after the Immigration Act of 1965 (Georgakas, 1994).

The First Wave that arrived after World War II to the mid-1960s, consisted of permanent settlers. The immigrants who left Greece after the destruction and poverty resulting from World War II and the years of devastating civil war that followed, were composed of families and sailors who jumped from the ships. This group arrived with scarce financial resources, little or no education, and few skills (Moskos, 1980).

The Second Wave of new immigrants, arriving after 1965, was better educated and more skilled than the immigrants of the first wave. Nonetheless, they shared the dream of their predecessors: earn money and return to Greece. They had also the hope that their children would graduate from the best American universities and also 'return' to Greece as highly educated professionals.

2. Community Organization

There is an old saying among Greeks that when three of them get together and begin to talk they form a society. Wherever Greek immigrants were located their first priority was to establish a community , to build a church and operate a Greek school. In a very flattering article the *New York Times* (1932) under the title *"Greeks' Cathedral draws new colony",* we are informed about the progress and success that the Greek community in New York achieved, during the first decades of the twentieth century , and most important that they have very early established their own educational and cultural institutions.

"A majority of them settle in cities. Wherever a Greek community is established there are to be found its churches, its educational, social and civic institutions. The percentage of Greeks owning their own businesses is unusually high. They are engaged in almost every conceivable business, wholesale and retail. Of late years many of them have embarked successfully in restaurant, confectionery, ice cream, nuts and fruit and similar enterprises."

The earliest Greek Orthodox parish in the United States was established in 1862 in the seaport city of Galveston, Texas, and was named after Saints Constantine and Helen. Even though the church was founded by Greeks, it served the spiritual needs of other Orthodox Christians, such as Russians, Serbians and Syrians. Knowledge of the Galveston Greek Orthodox community is very limited regarding the number of parishioners and the name of the first priest (Constantelos, 1984). The second Greek Orthodox community (it is considered officially as the first) was organized in 1864 in the port city of New Orleans, Louisiana, which like the first parish, was founded by merchants. Between 1892 and 1894, Greek church communities were established: Holy Trinity, New York, (1891); Holy Trinity, Chicago; Illinois (1892); Annunciation; New York, (1893); and Holy Trinity, Lowell, Massachusetts (1894) (Zoustis, 1954).

The first permanent Greek community was founded in New York City in 1892, today's Archdiocesan Cathedral of the Holy Trinity of the Archbishop of America.[3] By 1917, there were twenty established Greek church communities in the United States. Five years later, when the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America was incorporated, 141 Greek orthodox churches had been founded in the USA. During the reign of Archbishop Athenagoras (1930-1948), the Greek communities in America were united under a centralized agency called the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America.

Archbishop Athenagoras set the groundwork for Greek Orthodoxy in North and South America. From 1949-1958, Archbishop Michael not only consolidated the work of his predecessor, but also strengthened the Greek Orthodox Church in America. Since 1959, Archbishop Iakovos reinvigorated Greek Orthodoxy by creating greater unity and purposeful understanding among the family, community, and Archdiocese of the Greek Orthodox Church in America. Today, there are 540 parishes, 800 priests and approximately 1.5 million faithful in the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America.[4]

3. Establishing Educational and Cultural Organizations

Wherever Greeks migrated, they remained fiercely determined to establish their own identity as a people in the new world. In order to

accomplish this goal, Greeks who arrived in the USA recognized the need to establish social organizations, churches, and schools for the continuation of the life they had known in Greece. The most important thing for them was to preserve the uniqueness of their culture wherever they settled, and they saw nothing inconsistent or contradictory between establishing Greek schools and accepting the ideals of the United States.(Diameanos, 1937)

As the first born Greek-American generation began to make its appearance, so did Greek-language schools in the United States. These schools were often an adjunct to the parish church as well as a mean of maintaining communication between parent and child. Lessons usually took place in a church basement, rented hall or vacant store. Students would come every afternoon to Greek schools right after they finished their public-school program.

The first school that appears in bibliography related to Greece, operated in St. Augustine, Florida and is known as the *"Oldest School House, St. Augustine, Fla."* The Building belonged to *Juan Genobly (Ioannis Giannakopoulos),* who was known at first as a carpenter and then as a teacher. His educational activities are not clear, although there exist receipts of tuition (dated September 1st 1811) paid by his students indicating that he might have had a suitable income from it (Panagopoulos, 1978).

More informations about this school are provided by the Web site of the St. Augustine library: *"...Surely no house could be that weathered and still stand! But records show that the tiny house is the oldest wooden school building in the United States.…The house first appears on St. Augustine's tax rolls in 1716, but it was constructed before then. By 1788, the building was only "in fair condition," according to a Spanish map of that time. Originally, the building was a small homestead belonging to Juan Genoply. Juan Genoply later married and the house became a school, so he added an extra room. The schoolmaster lived upstairs with his family and used the first floor as a classroom. Boys and girls shared the same classroom, making the St. Augustine school the first in the young nation to go "co-ed."* [5]

The first Greek schools in USA incorporated not from the church communities but from other Greek associations, fraternities, regional brotherhoods and labour unions. The Greek newspaper Atlantis (1912),

describes the struggle of two Greek labour associations seeking to establish the first Greek-American school in New York. The unions were the Greek Florist Association and the Greek Confectionary Association. Those two worker unions strained in order to collect money to buy the property in Bronx, New York, where the first parochial school was established under the name Greek-American Institute, and opened its doors as a day Greek School and as an orphanage in September 1912 (Nikolidakis, 2005).

The Greek Community of Chicago would be the first to incorporate as the first Greek American school in the USA, in 1908 (Lagios, 1976). This school operated as a Greek School up to 1917 with (and) after this year as a Greek-American School.

The first Greek American school in new England founded in Lowell, Massachussetts, in 1909. In the year 1910, the first school established by church community in the central states, was the School "ΚΟΡΑΗΣ» (KORAES), which is operating to this day with the same name and under the auspices of the same community, the Greek Orthodox Church of Constantine and Helen in Chicago.

The importance of education for Greeks in maintaining and transmitting Greek culture has been articulated in the English language writings of Panayiotou (1979), and Scourby (1984).

According to their writings many Greek-Americans have experienced either day schools, afternoon schools, Sundays schools, and public schools with bilingual classes but the majority attended classes in Greek afternoon programs. With the increase in immigration, by 1935 there were 414 afternoon schools and five day schools in America. From their inception the Greek American schools had an interdependent relationship with the local parish and a very closed relationship with the educational representatives of the Archdiocese.

In most of these schools the Greek parish priest did the teaching and usually he was the director of the school. In most cases his educational training was limited.

In 1931, Archbishop Athenagoras, consistent with his policy of centralization had recognized the need for a uniformity among the schools. He founded the Higher Educational Council as a central office to unify the program, the curriculum and the administration of the schools.

In the same direction, in his keynote address at the Twentieth Biennial Clergy-Laity Congress in 1970, Archbishop lakovos, revealed his concern regarding the present educational system and the methods being employed to accomplish Greek ethnic religious preparation.

"Our Greek schools, day schools, and even our higher institutions of learning…l have not concerned themselves seriously….neither with a study of the present, nor for the purpose of defining the goal for which they exist ….upon the teaching methods used thirty years ago, without taking into account, that teaching methods today as well as curricula undergo change from year to year. Because our great problems must be the concern of all (religious and secular) of us ... (it) is imperative to bring our entire educational system up to date." [6]

4. Establishing Educational Institutions

Greek Theological School

On November 7, 1921, the first theological school (Seminary) was instituted at St. Athanasios Seminary in Brooklyn, New York, for the purpose of educating candidates for the Greek Orthodox Churches . However, two years later, the Seminary failed due to lack of funds (Constantelos, 1984).

Archdiocesan Educational Board

In 1931, Archbishop Athenagoras made the defunct Archdiocesan Educational Board as the Higher or Supreme Educational Council, an operable and effective organization at the Fourth Clergy-Laity Congress in New York City.

Greek Theological School (Pomfret/Brookline)

In 1937, the Holy Cross Greek Theological School at Pomfret, Connecticut, opened its doors to students preparing to serve in the Greek Archdiocese. The Holy Cross Greek Theological School was relocated from Pomfret to Brookline, Massachusetts, in 1947, becoming the parent institution of the Hellenic College there. In March 1968, the Massachusetts Board of Higher Education recognized the Hellenic College as an institution with the authority to grant the Bachelor of Arts degree upon completion of its Liberal Arts program.

St. Basil's Academy at Garrison, New York

Archbishop Athenagoras had a vision for the establishment of a teacher education institution. In 1931 He asked Professor Asterios Asteriou for an introductory report to The Second Convention of the Greek Teachers of America. According to this report, there were Greek teachers available in America, but they were leaving the Greek schools because of the low salaries.

The preparatory institution for educators would be a combination school-orphanage known as St. Basil's Academy. Located in Garrison, New York, it was to educate both orphans and the children of more affluent Greeks. On July 24, 1944, Archbishop Athenagoras' letter to the clergy, parish councils and Philoptochos Societies of the Greek Archdiocese announced the opening of St.Basil's Academy in September. In October 1944, the office of the Philoptochos Society (church benevolent society) announced that its organizations had accepted the challenge of establishing St. Basil's Academy with great enthusiasm. The press wrote laudatory articles about the Academy and the State of New York recognized the Academy by granting it permission to operate as both orphanage and school.[7]

The Educational and philanthropic goals of Saint Basil's Academy were:

(1) to serve orphans;

(2) to provide the children with an American education, a Greek education, and religious enlightenment;

(3) to educate future teachers from among the new generations. St. Basil's Academy became a new hope for Greek education in the United states.This institution was the first and only Greek -Teacher Preparatory College outside Greece (Nikolidakis, 2004).

As Metropolitan Germanos Polyzoides, proclaimed in his speech in 1944: *"We hope for better days to come ... Through the Philoptochos Societies, the Archbishop, the press and other sources the facilities for St. Basil's Academy, Garrison, New York, were secured whereupon the Greek American youths would be prepared to be the future teachers . . . let us wish the New Year to be a year of real freedom, joy, and health for all humanity."*[8] The program of teacher preparation was similar to that used in normal schools in Greece with modifications designed to prepare the students to be as leaders in the Greek

parishes, as teachers, Sunday and religious school directors or administrative secretaries for the parish councils.

5. Schools for Basic Greek education

The main concern of Greek immigrants was the education of their children. This was fulfilled through educational and religious programs. It should be noted that for many Greek-Americans, the socialization experience of the Greek school, especially in parochial schools are second only to that of the family.

There are basically three types of schools organized diachronically by the Greek communities.

a. The Greek day (parochial) school , offering the program that the City Board of Education requires and a supplementary Greek language program.

b. The afternoon language/heritage/cultural school.

   In addition, a large number of parishes offer Greek language evening courses to adults offered in the afternoon school's classes.

c. Sunday school and religious classes imparted the Orthodox faith, religious practices and traditions.

Second and third generation of Greeks did not provide motivation nor assistance for the preservation or continuance of language or heritage through these formal and informal educational programs. In effect, religious education was viewed as the basic means by which the new generations of American Greeks would maintain their Greek Orthodoxy.

Discussing community life in early Greek American settlements Saloutos (1980), writes: *"As the first American-born generation began to make its appearance, so did the Greek-language school. These schools were often an adjunct to the parish church and were a means both of maintaining communication between parent and child and of preserving the Greek heritage in the new land ... Classes usually were held in an improvised classroom in a church basement, rented hall, or vacant store after public-school day had ended."*

From their inception the Greek American schools had an interdependent relationship with the local parish and a perfunctory relationship with varied representatives of the Archdiocese. As a rule, the Greek parish priest did the teaching, sometimes he had been the classroom teacher in his native village or town. His educational training was probably limited, however, and his new teaching assignment could be a burdensome chore. Learning was by rote, the disciplinary methods stern, and the climate for learning stultifying (Saloutos,1980).

With the increase in immigration, by 1935 there were 414 afternoon schools and five day schools in America (Lagios, 1977).

Greek language programs in public schools

With the continued influx of Greek immigrants, pressure was placed on local school boards, as early as the 1930s, for the teaching of Greek in public schools. As a result of the Immigration Act of 1965, which spurred the entry of 86,344 Greeks into the United States from 1966 to 1971, Greek bilingual programs were set up in Chicago and New York, funded by federal grants from Title VII-The Bilingual Education Act of 1967. Prior to this period, the options for parents interested in teaching their children the Greek language and culture were limited to the afternoon schools and the day schools (Saloutos, 1980). Today there are nine public schools in the tri-state area (New York, New Jersey, Connecticut), offering Greek as a foreign language to 644 students (See Table I).

6. Greek Schools Today

The aims and goals of Greek education today, as they appear in the 2005 Year Book of the Greek Archdiocese, are to "Instill in the minds and hearts of our youth the spiritual, moral, and cultural values of our Greek Orthodox heritage. By helping our young people understand and appreciate the values and traditions underlying Greek Orthodoxy, Greek Education contributes greatly to the development of well informed, responsible, and progressive members of our Greek Orthodox Church." The steady increase in the number of Greek American day schools was a result of the discriminatory education policies of the major cities which Greek immigrants lived. Sarason and Doris (1979) describe the difficulties

that immigrant children experienced during the early part of the century in the American public schools. Lack of English language skills caused many of these children to be systematically judged as intellectually deficient and placed in classes for the mentally retarded. Nicholas Gage, the well known Greek-American writer and journalist, in a personal message to students in Greek Schools, appearing in the textbook "The history of the Greeks in America", (EDIAMME, 2004), describes his and his sister's personal experiences from their first year in public school, in Massachusetts, where they had been sent to a class for retarded students because of their language limitations!

A similar fate befell Greek immigrant children whose numbers in public schools increased after World War I (Kopan, 1981). With the continued influx of Greek immigrants, pressure was placed on local school boards, as early as the 1930s, for the teaching of Greek in public schools.

For the academic years 1985-1986 the Department of Education (formerly the Supreme Education Council) of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America listed 406 afternoon schools and 23 day schools (Yearbook, 1986). The total enrollment in the fall of 1985 was 7,260 pupils in day schools and approximately 27.000 students in day and afternoon schools. Of the day schools, eleven were in New York City, two in Chicago, seven in other parts of the United States, two in Canada, and one in South America. Two of the schools located in New York City offered high school programs. There were 3,381 students reportedly enrolled in the eleven day schools in New York City. In a study of 160 first, second and third-generation Greek Americans in the New York City metropolitan area, Scourby (1980) found a significant decrease in Greek school attendance. Twenty-three parochial day schools and 324 afternoon schools were reported in operation during the school year (2003-2004) in the United States with an estimated enrollment of 15,000 students, ages 4-16. (Appendix 1)

The parochial day schools are located as follows: 1 in Alabama; 2 in California; 1 in Florida; 3 in Illinois; 1 in Massachusetts; 11 in New York; 1 in Pennsylvania; 2 in Texas; and 1 in Utah (Makedon, 2004). The average population of these day schools is about 200 students, 90% of whom are born in the United States of Greek parents. Instruction is available from kindergarten to the eighth grade with an average of 20 to 25 students per

class for the day schools and from kindergarten to the seventh grade for the afternoon schools with an average of fifteen students per class with an exception for 5-8 big afternoon schools in the New York metropolitan area, where classes with 30 and 40 students may be found.

One school in New York has classes from pre-kindergarten to grade twelve and one has pre-kindergarten to grade nine.

Examining the number of students attending Greek Schools or any type of Greek language programs today, we find just as did Scurby (1984), a significant decrease between 1946 and 2004. According to the data, the official Greek population the year 1946 was 244.000 and the estimated student enrollment that time was 24.000 students (Malafouris , 1948). The report from the Department of Greek Education of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese shows that the student enrolment for the 2003-2004 school year was only 15.000 with a Greek population estimated at least 1.000.000 (The website of the Archdiocese gives an estimation for 1.500.000).

6.1 School Boards - Administration - Teachers

All parochial day schools are attached to the local church. The Archdiocese's Department of Education reports that the parishes contribute 25% to 30% of the annual school budgets. All schools are operated by a School Board elected from the Parish Council. The school boards usually consist of the principal, members of a parent's organization, and members of the parish council. Educational and administrative leadership and supervision is provided by the school administration , and the school boards, by the Archdioceses' Education Department and the Department of the Education from the local Greek Consulates.

The majority of the principals who work in the parochial schools are born in the United States of Greek parents and have completed graduate degrees in education. On the contrary, 95% of the principals working in the afternoon schools were born in Greece with a Greek degree or at least a Greek High School Diploma. The day school principals supervise an average of 15-20 teachers, two or three of whom are Greek language teachers, whereas the afternoon school principals supervise 4-6 teachers.

The Greek Language teachers in any type of school in USA are

indeterminable. Under the definition “Greek teacher” about eleven hundred (1,100) people are registered but not all of them have certification. It is estimated that, with the exception of the day schools, no more than 20% of these teachers hold a degree equivalent to the degree teachers in Greece require to teach in the school system (Table II).

Schools' goals are to provide students with basic knowledge of the major subject areas and to develop Greek American values. Curriculum and instruction for the day schools follows the guidelines established by each state's department of education for the major subject areas: language, arts, reading, mathematics, science, and social studies. For the Greek program the schools follow the guidelines from the Archdioceses' Education Department and the guidelines from the Department of Education from the local Greek Consulates.

All schools devote at least 45 minutes of classroom instruction per day to the teaching of Greek language and culture. Greek language classes are conducted according to grade and age level. Over the past 15 years, schools with more than one class per grade employ a language-level system based on the individual student's proficiency. The afternoon schools operate two to four afternoons per week and one and a half to two hours per afternoon. In the afternoon schools, each student receives one and a half to three periods instruction per week, in Greek language, history and culture. In most schools Religion is usually taught by the parish priest one period per week, or religion is integrated in the Greek curriculum.

The schools use standardized tests to evaluate students' progress in reading and mathematics. An integral part of any school curriculum is the assessment of pupil performance. Parochial schools generally have reputations for higher academic standards and fewer discipline problems than public schools since they can choose their students (Wolfe, 1987).

The Archdiocese lacks the economic and educational leadership to engage in a centralization of the Greek American day schools, which contradicts the widely public belief that the schools are under the auspices of the Archdiocese, belong to its central educational system and are run by the Department of Education of the Archdiocese. The schools can be viewed as independent organizations controlled mainly by their respective communities. There is new movement to establish the new model of

charter schools by converting Greek parochial schools to charter schools[9] or establish charter schools in the facilities of Greek Orthodox churches with as a core curriculum the Greek *Paideia.* This movement supports the view that these schools are private schools belonging to the community and its school board.

7. Books used for Greek Programs

Although there are many books used from the private sector three are mainly the series of books used for the Greek language programs in both parochial and afternoon schools. The following three books dominate:

a. *I Glossa mou* (My Mother Tongue) : They are the same books used in public schools in Greece. They were used up to 1988 as the only books distributed by the Greek Ministry of Education. Today only very few (three or five) schools with students from Greek-speaking families use these books.

b. *Mathaino Ellinika* (I am learning Greek) : These books were written in 1986, in co-operation of the Department of Education of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese and the Pedagogical Institute aiming to meet the educational and instructional needs of the second, third and fourth generation Greek American students. They are written in a second language teaching didactic methodology. They are published by the Greek Ministry of Education and are distributed free to schools.

c. *Pragmata kai Grammata* (Effects and Letters). The University of Crete through the European Program *Paideia Omogenon* created various series of books based on the communicative approach in order to fulfill the instructional needs of the majority of students who are coming to Greek school with limited or no Greek. The books are written by level within a proficiency system and cover language instruction from kindergarten to the ninth grade. There are also textbooks written for teaching Greek as a foreign language as well as books for social studies (Greek mythology, history, geography and culture).

The basic characteristic of these books is that the Greek teachers were involved in their design. They made proposals for the methodology and

before the final publication they were 'field tested' by the teachers in the classroom. In many cases, teachers themselves wrote units and lessons which they considered appropriate for their students. The teachers participated also in seminars organized either in Crete or in USA and were trained by the Centre of Intercultural and Migration Studies, Department of Elementary Education of the University of Crete, in didactic methods for more effective use of the books.

8. Greek Language Skills Assessment

a. The Comprehensive Examination in Modern Greek

Since 1973, the Department of Greek Education develops and administers annually the Comprehensive Examination in Modern Greek to students entering high school in New York State. Students who pass the Examination receive credits in foreign language study.

The Comprehensive Examination in Modern Greek is a foreign language achievement test that assesses student proficiency in listening, speaking, reading, and writing Modern Greek, according to the specifications of the New York State Syllabus: Modern Languages for Communication. It is estimated that over 19,000 students have benefited from taking it. (Makedon, 2004).

b. The Certificate of Attainment in Greek, by Κέντρο Ελληνικής Γλώσσας (The Center For The Greek Language).

The last five years students in any type of Greek language program or adults can participate in an examination in order to receive a formal certificate that would objectively demonstrate the level of their linguistic competence. This certificate provides unambiguous and easily recognizable proof of linguistic proficiency in four levels. With certification at Level D students can seek employment in the public or the private sector in Greece without further questions on their linguistic competence. The examination is mainly administered by the education departments at the local Greek consulates. It is estimated that over the last five years, at least one thousand students and adults have passed this examination and are awarded the certificate from The Centre for the Greek Language, Thessalonica, Greece.

Appendix

TABLE 1: GREEK LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN PUBLIC SCHOOL

	GREEK LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN PUBLIC SCHOOL		Students	Teachers
Francis Lewis H.S.	Flushing,	NY	152	2
FORT HAMILTON H.S	Brooklyn	NY	95	2
BRYANT HS	Astoria	NY	140	1
LONG ISLAND CITY H.S	ASTORIA	NY	80	1
B.CARDOZO H.S	Flushing,	NY	25	1
Bronx Science H.S	Bronx	NY	57	2
NATHAN HALE MIDDLE SCOOL	Norwalk	CT	44	1
WEST ROCKS MIDDLE SCHOOL	Norwalk	CT	27	1
FORT LEE	NEW JERSEY	NJ	24	1
TOTAL			644	12

TABLE 2: STUDENTS/TEACHERS IN THE EAST COAST GREEK SCHOOLS

A/A	STATE	STUDENTS	TEACHERS CERTIFIED**/NO CERT.
1.	CONNECTICUT (CT)	594	7/31
2.	MASSACHUSETTS(MA)	1397	14/67
3.	MAINE (ME)	28	8/26
4.	NEW HAMPSHIRE (NH)	132	/ 5
5.	NEW JERSEY (NJ)	1629	17/92
6.	NEW YORK (NY)	6028	30/238
7.	OHIO (OH)	582	7/52
8.	PENNSYLVANIA (PA)	1204	21/97
9.	RHODE ISLAND (RI)	99	/3
10.	WEST VIRGINIA (WV)	25	/1
11.	TENNESSEE (TN)	72	/2
12.	KENTUCKY (KY)		
	TOTAL	11790	104/614

** With a BA from a Pedagogic Academy or School of Education.

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L' éducation hellénophone au Canada

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ABSTRACT

Greek education in Canada dates back to the beginning of the 20th century and coincides with the first community structure. Education has always been one of the Greek immigrants' priorities. In fact, Greeks always demonstrated a particular interest in education, especially regarding their own language and culture. Early on in the life of the community, this interest led them to create an embryonic school system. The author of this article sketches a century of Greek education in Canada including both its successes and difficulties.

RÉSUMÉ

L'éducation hellénophone au Canada remonte au début du 20e siècle. Cette dernière coincide avec la création de la première structure communautaire. D`ailleurs, les Grecs ont toujours porté un intérêt particulier à l'éducation et surtout à leur propre langue et culture, les incitant très tôt à créer un réseau scolaire embryonnaire. L'auteur de cet article trace l'itinéraire d'un siècle d'éducation hellénophone au Canada avec ses hauts et ses bas, ses réussites mais aussi ses difficultés.

I. LES GRECS DU CANADA

1. LA PRÉSENCE GRECQUE AU CANADA

L' émigration des Grecs n'est ni un phénomène nouveau, ni un phénomène contemporain. Elle a existé à toutes les époques depuis l'antiquité. Si on a présenté quelquefois l'émigration grecque comme étant une manifestation de la curiosité grecque, il n'en reste pas moins que ce déracinement a des causes sociales beaucoup plus profondes. Ulysse, figure légendaire du Grec errant ne peut pas expliquer tout sans qu'on ne se réfère aux conditions sociales, économiques et politiques que la Grèce a connues pendant sa longue histoire.[1] En ce qui concerne les temps modernes qui nous intéressent plus particulièrement on peut situer le début de l'émigration grecque après l'indépendance du pays (1830). Si tout au long du 19^{e} siècle

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l'émigration grecque se dirige plutôt vers les Etats où l'élément grec est solidement enraciné depuis plusieurs siècles, à savoir la Russie, la Roumanie, l'Empire Ottoman et l'Egypte, à partir des années 1880 commence le grand mouvement migratoire vers l'Amérique du Nord. A l'aube du 20e siècle, de 1900 à 1920, 400 000 Grecs sur une population de 2 500 000 quittèrent le pays, dont 95% pour les Etats-Unis. Après la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, vu les restrictions prises par ce pays, l'émigration grecque se dirige vers l'Australie et le Canada et depuis 1955 vers l'Europe Occidentale.[2]

Au Canada la présence grecque, néanmoins sporadique, est constatée à partir du 19e siècle. Il semble cependant, même si ce n'est pas attesté clairement, que le premier Grec est arrivé au Canada au 16e siècle. Ce fut un certain Apostolos Valerianos de l'île de Céphalonie, connu sous le nom de Juan de Fucas. Celui-ci a été au service du gouvernement espagnol, il explora la côte de la Californie et découvrit vers 1592 le détroit entre la ville de Vancouver et l'Etat de Washington.[3] On retrouve aussi la présence d'un jeune Grec dont le nom n'a pas été sauvegardé, qui servit sous les ordres de Samuel de Champlain et qui est mentionné dans ses œuvres comme «le Grec».[4] Dans les écrits de Champlain cet homme apparaît pour la première fois à la date du 9 juillet 1628.On mentionne aussi durant le 17e siècle deux noms de Canadiens, en particulier au Québec, avec une consonance grecque. Cependant, il faut attendre le 19e siècle pour parler véritablement d'immigrants grecs qui s'installent au Canada. Ces premiers immigrants, étaient, selon toute vraisemblance des marins qui décidèrent d'abandonner la mer. On sait, par exemple, qu'en 1843 deux marins du nom de Panayiotis Nonis et Théodoros Leccas arrivent à Montréal après avoir quitté le navire grec à bord duquel ils travaillaient. Un autre marin, Kyriakos Kritikos arrive à Trois Rivières dans la province de Québec et plus tard s'installe à Montréal où il a ouvert une tabagie dans le port de la ville. En 1876 on mentionne la présence à Montréal d'un dénommé A. Zervoudakis, propriétaire d'une pâtisserie dans le Vieux Montréal. Pendant la même période d'autres Grecs s'installent en Ontario et en Colombie Britannique. Georges Kapiotis originaire d'Evia s'établit à Victoria de la Colombie Britannique et se marie avec la fille d'un chef Indien. Il meurt en 1916 à l'âge de 94 ans, laissant plusieurs descendants. Dans la région de l'Ontario et plus particulièrement à Toronto, s'est installé en 1864 le médecin Petros Konstantinidis. A Vancouver en Colombie Britannique, s'est installé en 1878 Ioannis

Giannaris, un marin, qui abandonna son navire. Il changea, son nom en Johnn Stevens, mais était plutôt connu comme «Johnny the Greek» et s'est enrichi dans le domaine de la pêche.[5]

Selon le recensement de 1871 il y avait 39 Grecs au Canada alors que le recensement de 1901 en relève 291. Cependant, d'autres sources font référence à la présence d'un nombre beaucoup plus important de Grecs au Canada pendant cette période là. D'autant plus qu'on mentionne le déplacement de Grecs des Etats-Unis vers le Canada à partir de la fin du 19e siècle. A partir de 1900, le nombre des Grecs du Canada augmente rapidement. Entre 1900 et 1907 se sont installés au pays 2 540 nouveaux immigrants grecs. Ces premiers immigrants grecs sont généralement sans aucune spécialisation dans le domaine du travail, avec une éducation limitée et sans connaissance des langues française ou anglaise. Ils seront donc amenés à accepter des emplois pénibles et de travailler dans des conditions dures et difficiles. Entre temps la population d'origine grecque du Canada continue à augmenter mais avec un rythme plus ou moins lent. En 1912 on parle d'une communauté grecque au Canada du nombre de 5 740 personnes. A la veille de la seconde guerre mondiale il y avait environ 12 000 Grecs à travers le Canada mais on les trouvait essentiellement dans les deux grandes concentrations de toujours, Montréal et Toronto. Des communautés plus petites existaient aussi à Vancouver, à Halifax, Ottawa, et dans la ville de Québec.[6]

La seconde grande vague d'immigration grecque au Canada commence après la seconde guerre mondiale et s'amplifie dans les années '60 et '70. L'année 1967 est avec 10 250 personnes celle avec le plus grand nombre d'immigrants Grecs qui s'installent au Canada. Selon les sources statistiques canadiennes entre 1945 et 1971, 107 780 Grecs se sont établis au Canada. A partir de 1975 l'immigration grecque au Canada décline. Il y a même un retour vers la Grèce. A compter des années '80 il n'y a pratiquement plus d'immigrants Grecs qui arrivent au Canada.[7]

Cette deuxième vague d'immigration grecque au Canada de l'après guerre, trouve son explication dans la destruction que la Grèce a subie pendant la seconde guerre mondiale, l'occupation, et ensuite la guerre civile. Ces nouveaux immigrants vont constituer une main d'œuvre non qualifiée et travailler dans des conditions très difficiles, forcés d'accepter les emplois les moins rémunérés. Cependant, avec le temps et au prix d'un travail acharné, un certain nombre d'entre eux va réussir à créer de petites entreprises

familiales surtout dans le domaine de la restauration et le petit commerce. La mobilité sociale, cependant, la plus importante, va se manifester avec la deuxième génération surtout à partir des années '90. Des centaines d' helléno-canadiens occupent aujourd'hui des positions importantes au sein de la vie économique et sociale du pays. Des centaines d'autres oeuvrent dans le domaine des professions libérales comme médecins, avocats, notaires, comptables, etc. Les données statistiques montrent que les helléno-canadiens de la deuxième génération ont un niveau éducatif très élevé, et que leur revenu est comparable à celui des autres Canadiens. En fait, depuis les années '90 la deuxième et la troisième génération des Grecs du Canada sont majoritaires au sein des communautés grecques et par conséquent bien intégrés au sein de la société canadienne. Cette intégration pose évidemment le problème de leur identité. Généralement ils veulent bien tout en s'intégrant sauvegarder une partie de leur identité hellénique. D'où d'ailleurs l'existence d'un système d'éducation pour sauvegarder la langue et la culture grecque. Mais ceci évidemment n'est pas facile dans le contexte d'une société moderne, avec plus de 60% de mariages mixtes et avec la force assimilatrice de la société canadienne, malgré la relative tolérance pour la différence.[8]

2. LA STRUCTURE COMMUNAUTAIRE

Dès le début de leur arrivée au Canada les Grecs ont tenté de créer un réseau d'institutions pour des raisons culturelles, sociales, économiques et réligieuses. L'institution la plus connue est celle de la Communauté, la Koinotita. La première Communauté a été créée à Montréal en 1906 pour répondre aux besoins éducatifs, sociaux et religieux des premiers Grecs. En 1909 a été fondée la deuxième Communauté à Toronto et en 1927 celle de la ville de Vancouver dans l'Ouest Canadien. Entre 1910 et 1940 ont été aussi créées de plus petites Communautés dans d'autres villes canadiennes, à Halifax, à Ottawa, à Edmonton, dans la ville de Québec et ailleurs. Ces premières Communautés s'efforcent de créer des écoles pour l'enseignement de la langue grecque et des églises orthodoxes pour les besoins religieux des gens. D'autres organisations ont été aussi constituées à côté des Communautés, dont les plus importantes sont les associations de nature régionale au sein desquelles se regroupent des gens originaires de la même région, de la même ville et même certaines fois du même village. Il y a eu une prolifération de ces associations surtout après la deuxième vague d'immigration au Canada aux années '60- '70. D'autres associations ont été créées pour répondre aux besoins des immigrants Grecs telles par exemple la

Fédération des Parents et des Tuteurs Grecs de Montréal, pour donner l'éducation grecque aux enfants (1969), ainsi que l'Association des Travailleurs Grecs du Québec (1970). Pendant une longue période, les Grecs du Canada ont reproduit au sein de leur Communauté un microcosme à l'image de celui de leur pays d'origine. Le conflit politique et les divisions en Grèce ont par exemple surgit aussi au sein de ces Communautés. C'est ainsi que la division politique en Grèce entre royalistes et venizelistes (libéraux) s'est manifesté aussi parmi les Grecs du Canada. Restant très attachés à la mère patrie, les Grecs du Canada se sont mobilisés pour l'aider à des moments difficiles, comme pendant la Seconde Guerre Mondiale et à d'autres moments. Il y a eu même ceux qui sont retournés en Grèce pendant les guerres balkaniques de 1912 pour s'enrôler au sein de l'armée grecque. Après la seconde guerre mondiale, au moment de la dictature militaire de 1967, des Grecs du Canada se sont mobilisés en faveur de la démocratie en Grèce et ont participé à des groupes antidictatoriaux. Signalons que le futur premier ministre de la Grèce Andréas Papandreou, s'est installé à Toronto d'où il dirigea le Mouvement Panhellénique de Libération (PAK).

D'autres divisions se sont fait jour au sein des communautés grecques à propos de l'Eglise orthodoxe et de sa tentative de contrôler la structure communautaire grecque. Des éléments libéraux et progressistes ont résisté à cette tentative, pour préserver l'indépendance des organismes grecs par rapport à l'Eglise. [9]

II. L'ÉDUCATION HELLÉNOPHONE DU CANADA

1. LA STRUCTURE DE L' ÉDUCATION HELLÉNOPHONE DU CANADA

BREF HISTORIQUE

La première école communautaire grecque a été créée au début du 20e siècle autour de la Communauté hellénique de Montréal, la Koinotita, en 1910, bien que des cours de langue grecque étaient dispensés même auparavant. Un peu plus tard, une école grecque a été créée aussi à Toronto. Les autres communautés grecques du Canada ont suivi quelques années plus tard. En fait, le schéma qui a été suivi a été celui d'une sorte de triptyque, Communauté-Eglise -Ecole grecque. A l'exception cependant de Montréal,

où l'école grecque dispensait un programme complet d'éducation primaire pendant quatre ans, en grande partie en anglais, et où le grec avait aussi sa place, les autres écoles grecques à travers le Canada, étaient en réalité des cours de langue grecque, le samedi matin ou les autres jours de la semaine après la fin des cours des écoles canadiennes régulières. Il s'agit des écoles du samedi et de l'après-midi, comme on les appelle. D'autres parlent d'éducation complémentaire grecque. Quoi qu'il en soit,ce modèle organisationnel a survécu jusqu'aux années '60. Avec l'arrivée cependant de la deuxième vague d'immigrants Grecs, après la seconde guerre mondiale, ce modèle ne suffit plus. D'autant plus que cette structure organisationnelle était contrôlée par les anciens, mieux enracinés et qui ne se sont pas empressés d'accueillir les nouveaux, se sentant même menacés de leur nombre important. Ces derniers sont arrivés avec d'autres expériences, en partie d'autres opinions politiques et un autre mode de vie. La communication fut dès lors difficile et dans certains cas les nouveaux furent perçus par les anciens comme un danger pour la stabilité sociale de la colonie. D'autant plus que l'intégration des anciens au sein de la société canadienne était déjà bien avancée. Il y a eu dès lors une certaine brisure au sein des communautés grecques canadiennes qui a été accentuée par la dictature militaire en Grèce en 1967. Devant cette situation les nouveaux arrivants se sont battus sur deux fronts : d'une part ils ont tenté de briser le monopole exercé sur la Koinotita par les anciens et d'autre part ils ont commencé à créer leur propre structure éducative ainsi que d'autres structures socio-culturelles pour pallier à leurs besoins.[10]

C'est dans ce contexte que prend naissance la nouvelle forme organisationnelle de l'éducation helléno-canadienne. Le monopole exercé jusque là par la *Koinotita* sur cette éducation a été brisé par la naissance d'autres structures éducatives. C'est ainsi qu'à côté de la Koinotita, les parents se regroupent dans le cadre d'associations ou même des fédérations pour créer des écoles grecques. L'exemple le plus réussi est celui de la Fédération des Parents et des Tuteurs de Montréal qui aux années '70 a mis sur pied les écoles du samedi et de l'après-midi dans la grande région de Montréal, avec plus de 5 000 élèves. Même des associations régionales comme celle des Crétois de Montréal, ont créé leur propre école grecque du Samedi. Dans certaines communautés grecques, il y a eu aussi le modèle de l'école privée (cours du samedi). Cette forme d'éducation grecque a été développée surtout à Toronto et dans l'Ouest canadien. Une autre forme

d'éducation hellénophone s'est propagée en dehors des communautés grecques, dans le cadre des programmes publics des gouvernements provinciaux du Canada, l'éducation dans le système fédéral canadien étant de responsabilité provinciale. C'est ainsi par exemple qu'à Toronto, à partir de 1977 existe le programme Heritage (Heritage Program) qui est aujourd'hui connu comme programme de Langues Internationales, sous l'égide des différentes Commissions scolaires. Au Québec le programme PELO (Programme d'Enseignement des Langues d'Origine) dans les années '80 n'a pas eu beaucoup de succès pour l'enseignement du grec, au sein du secteur public, les Grecs ayant donné leur préférence à leurs propres institutions. Néanmoins ces derniers temps, certaines écoles, tant privées que publiques, ont réintroduit l'enseignement du grec dans leurs cours facultatifs, ou facilitent son enseignement en dehors de leurs programmes réguliers. [11]

2. LA TYPOLOGIE DU RÉSEAU SCOLAIRE HELLÉNOPHONE

Dans le contexte de l'après-guerre, a pris naissance la typologie suivante d'écoles ou des cours de grec :

A. **L'école grecque de l'après-midi**: il s'agit des cours donnés deux fois par semaine en dehors du programme régulier de l'école d'une durée de 4 heures par semaine. Cette forme d'enseignement du grec était très populaire par le passé mais elle est en voie de disparition ce dernier temps. Elle se trouve essentiellement sous la responsabilité des Communautés helléniques, des associations de parents et de l'Eglise.

B. **L'école du samedi**: il s'agit des cours donnés le samedi matin d'une durée de 4 heures. Ces cours sont pratiquement supplantés saujourd'hui par ceux de l'après-midi. Les organismes responsables sont ceux mentionnés plus haut.

C. **Cours de grec au sein du système public:** il s'agit essentiellement des cours donnés le samedi matin par les Commissions scolaires de l'Ontario et de l'Ouest canadien tandis qu'au Québec des cours sont dispensés, soit sous la responsabilité du Ministère de l'Education, soit sous celle des Commissions scolaires. En fait, il s'agit de l'école du samedi, dans le cadre du système public.

D. **Les écoles élémentaires grecques**. Ces écoles appliquent le programme du Ministère de l'Education du Québec dans le cas de **Socrate** et **Démosthène** et s'agisant de **Metamorphosis** celui du Ministère de l'Education de l'Ontario.

Socrate

L'école Socrate a été la première école grecque créée au Canada et sans doute en Amérique du Nord. Elle a été fondée en 1910 sous le nom de Platon et à partir de 1926 porte jusqu'à aujourd'hui le nom Socrate. En fait, Socrate a été créée en 1926 après l'éclatement de la Communauté hellénique de Montréal (division entre vénizelistes et royalistes) par les dissidents ayant formé leur propre Communauté. Après la réunification de deux Communautés en 1932, on garda une seule école sous le nom de Socrate. Cette école, en dépit de bien de difficultés, a fonctionné depuis sous la responsabilité de la Communauté hellénique de Montréal. Longtemps elle n'a dispensé qu'un enseignement en anglais et en grec pour y ajouter aussi le français plus tard. A partir de 1970 Socrate est subventionnée par le Ministère de l'Education du Québec, dont elle a adopté le programme d'éducation primaire. Le programme français constitue 65% de l'enseignement de l'école, le programme grec, 25% de l'enseignement, et l'anglais 10%. Néanmoins, l'école fonctionne dans un milieu où on tente de valoriser la langue et la culture grecque. Aujourd'hui elle dispose de quatre camps et le nombre d'élèves qui y suivent les cours est de 1 300.

L'histoire de Socrate est aussi celle de la communauté grecque de Montréal. L'école n'a pas échappé aux divisions et aux conflits qui ont traversé pendant presque un siècle la communauté. Néanmoins, l'intérêt que les Grecs portaient à l'éducation et en particulier à leur propre langue et culture ont permis à Socrate de survivre et de progresser. Certes, l'école pourrait faire mieux si elle était épargnée des jeux communautaires partisans, avec une direction qui pourrait lui garantir une certaine autonomie par rapport aux leaders communautaires.

Démosthène

Cette école a été créée en 1982 sous la responsabilité de la Communauté hellénique de Laval. Elle est aussi subventionnée par le Ministère de l'Education du Québec et suit le même programme que Socrate. Le programme français constitue 65% de l'enseignement de l'école, le programme grec 25% de l'enseignement et l'anglais 10%. Cette école a

connu aussi des difficultés à cause des conflits qui se sont manifestés à l'intérieur de la Communauté hellénique de Laval. Néanmoins, l'école fonctionne dans un milieu où on tente de valoriser la langue et la culture grecque.

Metamorphosi

Cette école a été fondée à Toronto en 1996 par le diocèse orthodoxe grec du Canada. Contrairement à la province de Québec, la province de l'Ontario ne subventionne pas les écoles communautaires et privées. Ainsi les parents qui envoient leurs enfants à cette école sont obligés de payer des frais de scolarité élevés. C'est la raison pour laquelle cette école a un nombre limité d'élèves, autour d'une centaine. Le programme d'enseignement est celui du Ministère de l'Education de l'Ontario. L'enseignement dispensé en anglais constitue 65% du programme, celui du grec 25% et 10% pour le français.[12]

Une autre typologie du système scolaire hellénophone du Canada, pourrait être basée sur l'appartenance de ces écoles à différents organismes. Ainsi nous avons dans un premier temps les **écoles paroissiales,** contrôlées par les paroisses grecques orthodoxes. Ensuite nous avons les **écoles communautaires** sous le contrôle des Communautés helléniques canadiennes. Une troisième forme d'école est constituée et contrôlée par des **associations de parents**. Une quatrième forme regroupe des **écoles privées** alors qu'une cinquième forme est celle intégrée dans le **système scolaire public.**[13]

Il faudrait néanmoins nuancer, quand on utilise des termes comme «école grecque», «réseau scolaire grec», etc. En réalité, nous ne parlons pas d'école au sens propre mais des cours de langue grecque et de civilisation dispensés en dehors du programme scolaire régulier. Même les écoles Socrate et Démosthène, considérées généralement comme des écoles grecques, dispensent des cours de langue et de civilisation grecque à l'intérieur de leur programme, mais l'essentiel de ce programme est distribué en français.[14]

III. SITUATION ACTUELLE ET PERSPECTIVES D'AVENIR

L'éducation hellénophone au Canada a connu un grand succès dans les années '70 et '80. C'est la période de la première génération des Grecs

arrivés au Canada avec la deuxième grande vague d'immigration grecque. Très attachés encore à leur pays d'origine, ils tiennent mordicus à ce que leurs enfants apprennent leur langue et s'initient à leur culture. Cependant, à partir des années '90 se manifeste un déclin de cette éducation hellénophone du Canada. Aujourd'hui, certains même n'hésitent pas à parler de crise de celle-ci. C'est que les communautés grecques du Canada sont en pleine transformation avec les Grecs de la deuxième et de la troisième génération en train de devenir majoritaires au sein d'elles. Par conséquent, les élèves qui fréquentent maintenant l'école grecque sont les enfants de cette deuxième génération de Grecs. Et même si ceux-ci restent eux aussi attachés au pays d'origine de leurs parents, à la langue et la civilisation grecque, cet attachement est moins fort que celui de la première génération. Mais cela seul n'explique pas le déclin du nombre d'élèves au sein de l'école grecque. Il y en a d'autres. Premièrement, la philosophie des Grecs de la deuxième génération en matière d'éducation est différente de celle de leurs parents. Leurs priorités en matière d'éducation pour leurs enfants, ne sont non plus les mêmes. Pour plusieurs d'entre eux, même si l'enseignement du grec à leurs enfants est important, il s'agit d'une priorité parmi d'autres alors que pour leurs parents il s'agissait de la première priorité. Ensuite, ces Grecs de la deuxième génération sont en mesure d'évaluer l'efficacité et la qualité de l'enseignement du grec et par conséquent peuvent constater ses lacunes et ses faiblesses. En effet, le manque d'un personnel enseignant qualifié ainsi que la carence des matières didactiques adéquates ne les encouragent pas toujours d'envoyer leurs enfants à l'école grecque. La division et l'antagonisme des organismes qui ont la responsabilité du fonctionnement de l'école grecque est un autre facteur décourageant ces parents d'y envoyer leurs enfants. Certaines études montrent aussi que les mariages mixtes qui dépassent actuellement le chiffre de 60% au sein de la communauté grecque est une autre raison qui explique le déclin de l'école grecque.[15]

Les organismes de la communauté grecque sont de plus en plus conscients de ces problèmes et tentent de faire face aux lacunes de l'école grecque. Par ailleurs, l'Etat grec vient aussi à l'aide de l'éducation hellénophone de la diaspora grecque. Dans le cadre du programme Education pour la Diaspora (Paideia Omogenon), élaboré par l'Université de Crète, et plus particulièrement par le Centre d'études interculturelles et de l'immigration, sous la responsabilité du Ministère grec de l'Education, a été produit du matériel didactique adapté aux réalités des enfants de la diaspora grecque et

ont aussi été mis en place des cours de perfectionnement des enseignants de langue et de civilisation grecque.

Aujourd'hui la concentration la plus importante d'élèves qui apprennent le grec se trouve à Montréal et à Toronto. A Montréal l'importance est donnée aux écoles Socrate et Démosthène où le grec fait partie de leur programme. L'autre forme d'enseignement du grec, celle de l'école du Samedi est en déclin. A Toronto, l'accent est mis sur l'école du samedi, soit à l'intérieur des organismes communautaires, soit à l'intérieur des Commissions scolaires de la province de l'Ontario. Dans le reste du Canada l'école du samedi fonctionne toujours, mais son déclin est patent.

En 1980 on estimait à 16 000 le nombre des élèves qui suivaient des cours de langue et de civilisation grecque. Aujourd'hui ce nombre est presque de la moitié.[16]

L'Etat grec porte un intérêt particulier à l'éducation de la diaspora grecque. Il accorde une aide considérable aux écoles grecques. Tout le matériel didactique est fourni gratuitement, alors qu'il existe aussi des programmes de perfectionnement des enseignants pour de courtes périodes en Grèce. Afin d'assister les écoles grecques l'Etat grec nomme des conseillers pédagogiques au sein des consulats grecs, là où il y a une grande concentration d'élèves qui suivent des cours grecs. Dans le cas du Canada il y en a deux, un à Toronto et un deuxième à Montréal.

Les écoles grecques sont malheureusement fermées aux personnes qui ne sont pas d'origine grecque. Théoriquement elles sont certes ouvertes à cette clientèle, mais dans la pratique on ne peut pas mélanger les non Grecs avec les Grecs. Certes, il existe quelques difficultés à cause de l'insistance d'enseigner la religion ce qui évidemment ne peut pas attirer les non Grecs. On pourrait cependant aménager les cours de telle façon pour permettre aux non Grecs de suivre des cours de langue et de civilisation, laissant de côté les cours de religion. D'autant plus qu'aujourd'hui la plupart des écoles au Canada ont remplacé les cours de religion par des cours de morale. En outre, c'est de la responsabilité de l'Eglise Orthodoxe d'organiser des cours de catéchèse pour ceux qui s'y intéressent au lieu d'introduire l'enseignement religieux dans le programme des écoles. En particulier, si on arrivait à élever le niveau des écoles élémentaires, telles Socrate, Démosthène et Metamorphosis, à celui des bonnes écoles privées, on pourrait attirer sans

doute un nombre appréciable d'élèves d'origine autre que grecque. De toute façon à l'avenir on n'aura pas d'autre choix que de faire de ces établissements des écoles essentiellement laïques, puisqu'un nombre important d'enfants seront issus de mariages mixtes. Imaginez par exemple des enfants dont un des parents est catholique, protestant, ou même d'une religion qui n'a rien à voir avec le christianisme. Les parents de ces enfants pourraient très bien vouloir que leurs enfants apprennent le grec sans qu'ils soient initiés à la religion chrétienne orthodoxe. Autrement dit, à l'avenir, l'insistance pour mêler la religion avec la langue et la civilisation grecque pourrait conduire loin des écoles grecques les enfants issus de mariages mixtes, comme d'ailleurs des enfants d'autres origines dont les parents choisiraient les écoles grecques à cause de la qualité de l'enseignement et du milieu social convenable. Par conséquent, il est temps de penser l'école grecque de l'avenir en tenant compte des nouvelles réalités des communautés grecques et de celles du Canada.

En ce qui concerne l'éducation des adultes, tant d'origine grecque ou autre, celle-ci reste très limitée. Elle pourrait cependant se développer car il existe nombre d' adultes grecs de la deuxième ou de la troisième génération intéressés à un moment ou à un autre d'apprendre la langue de leurs parents ou de leurs grands-parents et de s'initier à la civilisation grecque. Il existe par ailleurs des personnes d'autres origines qui pour une raison ou une autre sont intéressés à certains moments d'apprendre le grec. D'autant plus qu'il y a actuellement un bassin intéressant de gens issus des mariages mixtes. Il est donc clair qu'il y a là une clientèle importante trop négligée et vers qui il faudrait trouver les moyens de s'adresser.[17]

CONCLUSION

L'éducation hellénophone du Canada avec tous ses problèmes et difficultés fonctionne depuis presque un siècle. Il n'y a pas de raison de croire qu'elle ne continuera pas d'exister à l'avenir. Néanmoins, le contexte actuel est différent de celui du passé. Dans le passé il y avait presque toujours une immigration grecque continue qui apportait un renouvellement aux communautés grecques du Canada. Ce n'est plus le cas aujourd'hui. Dans quelques années on se trouvera devant des communautés de deuxième et de troisième génération. On dit toujours que quand il y a encore un grand-père et une grand-mère au sein des familles, sous-entendu des immigrants de la première génération, cela facilite l'apprentissage du grec. Ce ne sera plus le

cas à l'avenir. C'est pourquoi il faut s'adapter à la nouvelle réalité des communautés grecques. Il faudrait que l'école grecque devienne un lieu qui attire les enfants. Pour ce faire il y a des choses qui doivent changer.

On ne peut pas continuer à enseigner la langue grecque en tant que langue maternelle comme cela était le cas par le passé. Aujourd'hui les élèves arrivent à l'école soit sans aucune connaissance du grec, soit avec une connaissance limitée. Il faudrait donc adapter l'enseignement du grec comme langue seconde. Ce qui ne signifie pas évidemment qu'on ne va pas enseigner la culture grecque, ni non plus qu'on va enseigner le grec comme une langue étrangère. Car évidemment les enfants qui viennent à cette école ont et auront des représentations d'une façon ou d'une autre de la culture et de la langue grecque.[18]

Pour adapter l'enseignement du grec aux nouvelles réalités il est nécessaire d'obtenir la coopération des parents avec les organismes grecs. En même temps l'aide de l'état grec restera indispensable. Une coopération entre les parents, les organismes grecs et l'Etat grec permettra d'élever la qualité de cette éducation en renouvelant et en adaptant le matériel didactique et en portant un intérêt particulier pour obtenir des enseignants qualifiés qui par ailleurs suivront des cours de perfectionnement en Grèce.

L'Etat grec paraît aujourd'hui conscient de la nécessité de contribuer à la survie de l'éducation hellénophone de la diaspora. C'est dans ce contexte que depuis quelques années le ministère grec de l'Education s'affaire à offrir son aide aux communautés de la diaspora. C'est sous sa responsabilité que l'Université de Crète,et plus particulièrement le Centre d'études interculturelles et de l'immigration-EDIAMME, élabore son Programme d'Enseignement du Grec à la Diaspora (Παιδεία Ομογενών). D'autre part, le ministère a mis en place des structures nécessaires pour réaliser ces objectifs.

Néanmoins, en dernière analyse, l'avenir de l'éducation hellénophone tant au Canada qu'ailleurs dans la diaspora reste aux mains des parents et des structures communautaires.

NOTES

1.Stephanos Constantinides, Les Grecs du Québec, Montréal, Ed. O Metoikos/Le Métèque, 1983, p.47.

2. Ibid, p.48.

3. Stephanos Constantinides, La présence grecque au Canada, Rethymno, Université de Crète, EDIAMME, 2004, p.12. (en grec).

George Vlassis, *The Greeks in Canada*, Ottawa 1953, p. 79; l'auteur cite une source incertaine, Pilgrims, 3ième volume, de Samuel Purchas, publié à Londres en 1625 et repris par l'historien américain Robert Greenhow en 1847 dans un volume sur l'histoire de la Californie et de l'Oregon; le même auteur cite aussi l'historien américain Alexander Taylor qui a écrit deux articles dasn la revue *Hutchings' California Magazine*, Octobre, septembre 1854.

Voir aussi : Canada, *The Canadian family tree*, Ottawa Secretary of State, 1979, chapitre relatif aux Grecs;

Takis Petritis, *Oi Ellines Metanastes ston Kanada* (Les immigrants Grecs au Canada) in *Afieroma*, Association des Crétois de Montréal, 1973, p.7, et Peter Chimbos, *The Canadian Odyssey, The Greek Experience in Canada*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd, 1980, p.22.

4. Stephanos Constantinides op.cit.p.12.Voir aussi *Les Voyages de Champlain*, (Laverdière, éd. 1870), Montréal, Editions du jour, 1973, pp. 170-171.

5. Stephanos Constantinides, *La présence grecque au Canada*,op. cit., p.12.

6. Ibid, p.20-22, Voir aussi Peter Chimbos, *The Canadian Odyssey, The Greek Experience in Canada*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd, 1980, p.22 et suivantes.

7. Stephanos Constantinides, *La présence grecque au Canada*,op. cit., p.26-32.

8. Ibid, p.130-136.

9. Ibid, p.38-53, Voir aussi Peter Chimbos, *The Canadian Odyssey*, op. cit., p.88-98.

10. Stephanos Constantinides, *L'éducation hellénophone au Canada*, Rethymno, Université de Crète, EDIAMME, 2001, p.72-83(en grec).

11. Ibid

12. Ibid, p.86 et suivantes, *Archives du Centre de recherches helléniques Canada-KEEK.*

13. Ibid, p. 73 et suivantes.

14. Sur *Socrate* voir la thèse de doctorat de Leonidas Bombas, *The Greek Day School Socrates in Montreal :Its Development and Impact on Tudent Identity, Adjustment and Achievement*, Faculty of Education, McGill University.

15. Peter Chimbos, "Factors Affecting Group Cohesion:The case of Greek Canadians" in(ed.)Chris Ioannides: *Greeks in English Speaking Countries: Culture,Identity, and Politics,*Melissa Media Associates Inc,New Rochelle.

16. Chiffres de bureaux des conseillers pédagogiques auprès de Consulats grecs de Toronto et Montréal.

17. Cette clientèle sera encore plus importante à l'avenir.

18. Cette méthode est privilégiée par le matériel didactique préparé dans le cadre du programme *Paideia Omogenon.*

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Greek Education in Australia

Anastasios Tamis*

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article présente un portrait de la communauté grecque d`Australie et de son évolution a travers les différentes vagues d'immigration vers ce pays. La question de l'éducation hellénophone est abordée à travers les changements survenus au sein de la communauté, en particulier avec l'apparition de la deuxième et de la troisième génération de Grecs, dont la conception en cette matière n'est pas nécessairement la même à celle de leurs parents. En ce sens les problèmes de cette éducation ressemblent, en partie du moins, à ceux auxquels font face les communautés grecques du Canada et même des États-Unis. L'auteur présente les besoins tant des enseignants que des élèves dans ce nouveau contexte et souligne l'importance du programme *Paideia Omogenon* pour les combler.

ABSTRACT

This article provides readers with a well-researched portrait of the Greek experience in Australia. The author describes the various waves of immigration 'down under' and how the education system struggled to keep up with the demand. Problems of immigration and identity have forged the Australian Greek community into a stong, well-established group. Nevertheless, the current Australian situation resembles that of Canada and the United States in that second- and third-generation parents and children must adjust to maintain the Greek language and culture as the clientele for Greek education has changed dramatically. The author describes both student and teacher needs within the contemporary context as well as the importance of the *Paideia Omogenon* Program.

PART I: Greeks in Australia

1.0 Greek Migration and Settlement in Australia

From 1829 to 1974 approximately 300,000 immigrated and settled in Australia. The pioneers (1829-1880), were mostly bachelors, illiterate wanderers who endured hardships in mining camps and worked under

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strenuous conditions as peddlers in the urban centres, porters on the wharves and unskilled labour clearing vineyards and farms. Some of them decided to settle. They married local girls, primarily Irish, and became small farmers and graziers, while others moved towards the north of the continent where they were engaged in the sugar cane plantations. Some shortened their names in an effort to gain acceptance from the broader Australian community and were assimilated. They lived far apart from each other, employed in seasonal work or unhealthy jobs, which many Australians found too demeaning to perform. They often had to travel long distances to find work. In country areas they lived in improvised houses which were usually made of tin and hessian cloth, and were often cruelly exploited by their employers (Tamis, 1997).

Greek immigration to Australia until 1965 was male dominated. Some pioneers emerged as influential personalities and their role increased migration from their own region. The pioneer immigrants were predominately from 25 Ionian and Aegean islands, with fewer settlers from the mainland and the Greek lands under Ottoman rule. During the inter-war period and especially by 1924, due to the restrictions on migrant intake imposed in the USA and the political and demographic situation created in Greece following the Asia Minor Catastrophe (1922), a mass exodus began from mainland Greece. The number of Greek settlers in Australia drastically increased with new waves of refugees from Asia Minor, Macedonia and the Peloponnese to reach over 15,000 by 1940. Many of these immigrants came from the large trading centres of Constantinople, Smyrna, Alexandria and Cairo.

Pre-WW II concepts regarding immigrants were based on fear, prejudice and ignorance, making white Australia liable to racial discord and bitterness. Intolerance was often manifested in reports and anti-immigrant Acts of Parliament. The antiforeign opposition was particularly high during severe national economic crises, and emanated from organized labour, the older immigrant stocks, and certain elements of the conservative media and the mainstream population.

The nature of chain immigration brought together settlers from the same villages and regions. The necessity to preserve the local customs, coupled with the tendency of the Greeks to accept mainly their fellow villagers and islanders considering any person from their neighboring village a *ksenos* (foreigner), triggered the establishment of a plethora of local brotherhoods

and societies (approximately 1000 by 2005) as early as 1912.

The earliest Greek Cypriot immigrants were attracted by the gold rushes of the 1850s in Australia. The massive exodus of Cypriots from their homeland continued throughout the 20th century for political and economic reasons. By 1928, Greek Cypriot settlers were responsible for the establishment in Home Hill, Queensland of the first Greek community. Pioneer Cypriots from Sydney in 1929 established the *Cyprus Brotherhood Evagoras* in support of new immigrants from the island. Three years later (1932) in Melbourne the Cypriots organised the progressive *Cypriot Brotherhood Zenon*, and in 1950, ideologically dissenting members of *Zenon* formed the conservative *Cyprian Brotherhood Troodos*. The two organizations followed their separate ideological principles until after independence, when they were unified into one entity (16 March 1961) to establish the *Cyprian Community of Melbourne and Victoria (Michael and Tamis, 2004)*.

The zeal shown for the study of the parent tongue and the desire to maintain the Orthodox faith became the Greeks' prime concern. The Hellenic heritage, which "inspired the entire western world", ought to be preserved at any cost within the family environment and its social milieu, while Orthodoxy represented "the true faith". Following the establishment of the Holy Trinity in Surrey Hills, Sydney (1898) and the Annunciation of our Lady (1900) in Melbourne, the community schools began their operation employing the services of the first priests. Utilizing their churches, vacant stores, backyard sheds and the lofts of family run restaurants the first Greek communities provided Greek language and culture classes. Immigrant parents haunted by the unwillingness of their children to acquire or use Greek, often demonstrated harshness and irreconcilable determination. Those children who ignored strict parental instructions and used English at home frequently experienced deprivation of certain luxuries or were made to spend hours in solitary confinement.

Greek Orthodox immigrants received pastoral guidance initially from the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, with the appointment of bilingual (Greek-Arabic) priest Athanasios Kantopoulos (1898) in Melbourne and Serafeim Fokas (1899) in Sydney (Tamis, 1997). However, following persistent intra-community strife, the Orthodox faithful of Australia were placed under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Church of Greece (1904) and twenty years later under the authority of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The role and

contribution of the clergymen was severely criticized by the people, who expected their priests to demonstrate compassion, high morality and a zeal for the preservation of Hellenism. The pioneer priests were criticized for their personal life, their indifference to teaching Greek, their public mode of behaviour, even for their style of attire. By the time the first Greek Orthodox Metropolitan, Christophoros Knitis, an Oxford University graduate, was appointed by the Ecumenical Patriarchate (1924) more than ten priests had been replaced in Melbourne alone. They were criticized for their failure to propagate the faith and deal with the needs of their congregation. The majority of the Greek settlers remained loyal to the Greek Orthodox Church, however, the long period of feuding influenced negatively the attitude of the people towards their clergy, while the image of the ecclesiastical authorities was reduced to a low point.

The bonds of friendship between the Australian people and Greek settlers were further augmented with the dispatch of 17,000 Australian soldiers to the Greek Front (January 1941) and more so with the return of Australian veterans from the fronts of Macedonia and Crete. The returning soldiers told stories of gallant sacrifices performed by Greek families to save Australian and New Zealand soldiers, placing their own children at risk. It was only then that the Australian people universally began to understand the Greek temperament.

The period of massive immigration coincides with the end of World War II and the absorption of a large number of political refugees from Eastern Europe. During this period the pre-War chain migration was replaced by mass migration. In addition to refugees, the Australian government actively recruited immigrants from all over Europe at this time for reasons related to security and economic growth. Australia's involvement in the war in South-East Asia and the Japanese invasion of Australian colonies in Papua New Guinea and attacks on Darwin and Sydney. The establishment of the Immigration Department (12 July 1945), with Arthur Calwell as the first Minister, aimed to increase the net population by 2% annually.

The relevant agreement with Greece was signed in 1952, triggering the transplantation of over 250,000 Greek and Cypriot migrants from Greece (1952-1974), Rumania (1952-1958), Egypt and the Middle East (1952-1952), Cyprus (1974-1984) and other politically turbulent countries of Eastern Europe and Latin America. After 1974, following the restoration of

democracy in Greece and the prevailing favorable economic situation, Greece stopped exporting migrants and received massive waves of repatriating Greeks from around the globe. During this period, the last wave of Greeks from South Africa settled in Australia (1992-2004) amid the instability and the persecutions following the post-colonial apartheid administration.

Greek and foreign shipping lines began to bring to Australia hundreds of Greeks sponsored by the Inter-Governmental Committee of European Migration (ICEM). Most of them (82%) were unskilled, unemployed laborers of the major urban centres of Greece and agrarians of the impoverished and neglected countryside. They arrived with no liquid capital and very limited education, victims of a traumatic post-civil war Greece. Many had left their families back home, borrowing the basic capital from their relatives, while many were compelled to sell their limited livestock for their migration expedition. Predominantly young, only a few had travelled far beyond their native villages. The unfamiliarity with the laws and tradition of the new country and the severe cultural differences gave them a feeling of insecurity. Yet these Greek immigrants were freedom-loving individuals and natural-born competitors with a determination to succeed, reconciling themselves to hard work. They cleverly assessed their social and economic position in Greece as redundant and emigrated. Driven by the desire to acquire wealth and status, they became receptive to the cult of success. Greek migrants, despite their peasant backgrounds and lack of experience, demonstrated an ability to adapt with energy and resourcefulness and to distinguish themselves from the very outset in business as well as in hard work.

Until 1975, their self-sufficient communities remained socio-economically insulated, relying on their intra-communal business resources and networks. Priority was given to the preservation of family and traditional values via the establishment of numerous Greek language schools, Orthodox Churches, brotherhoods and societies, including the male-only coffeehouses. Post WWII Greek immigrants were well aware that their generation had to be sacrificed to secure the advancement of their children. The vision of professional success for their children, despite the hardships endured in the process of reaching it, was overpowering. The multiplicity of Greek language newspapers and radio stations generated a feeling of security in intra-

community interactions, although very often controversies were inspired by some of their editors. On the other hand, the conflict between the leaders of the Orthodox Church and the communities generated confusion, dissension and the apparent lack of a coordinating authority to impose order.

The rise of the second and third generation of Australian Greeks to commercial, professional and intellectual prominence is part of the contemporary Australian success story. Lacking acquaintances and prominent connections within the broader Australian society, emerging from a humble and socially obscure immigrant environment, they climbed to influential positions via their determination and dedication. The will to succeed was imposed on them primarily by their Greek parents at a very early age. Hard work and assumption of responsibility were the values with which they were often admonished. Available statistical data attest that the ratio of Greek Australian youths entering positions of prestige in all professional disciplines is extremely high. It need only be noted that the percentage of tertiary students of Greek ancestry in Australia is the second highest (11.5%) after the Asian, among all ethnic groups. The professions of engineering, teaching, medicine and law were the most popular, while other professions began to appeal later on, especially in the area of the arts cinema, media and music. Success in these disciplines would secure a dignified life and in addition it would add prestige to the family and to the parents.

In 1892, an Orthodox Christian consortium composed of Greek, Russian and Syrolibanese settlers commenced negotiations with Russia, Greece and the Patriarchate of Jerusalem to establish the first Orthodox Church in Australia (Tamis, 2000). Following seven years of negotiations, involving the Russian and Greek consular representatives, community leaders and the Anglican Church of Australia, their vision finally matured. On 22 August 1897 the leaders of the 100 Greeks in Melbourne, in collaboration with the Syrolibanese settlers, called a meeting and founded the *Greek Orthodox Church [Community] of Melbourne*. Greek and Syrolibanese Orthodox migrants in Sydney founded the first Greek Community at the beginning of 1896 and erected *Agia Triada* (Holy Trinity), the oldest Orthodox Church in Australia. The church was completed in 1898 with generous contributions from the Kytherian Greeks and its opening was celebrated with great splendour on 16 April 1899. During the pre-World War I era the majority of the Greek population in Australia was concentrated in Sydney

where the seat of the Archbishop (1924) and the Consul General of Greece (1926) was located. The numerical dominance of the Kastellorizians in Perth led to the establishment of the first regional Greek brotherhood in Australia in 1912, the *Kastellorizian Brotherhood,* with its main objectives being purely panhellenic. A strong community developed there with the contribution of generous offers of estates and bequests by 1920 as the *Hellenic Community of Western Australia*.

The Greek community in Adelaide remained small and politically unimportant until 1947. On 19 October 1930, thirty Greeks in Adelaide gathered at the *Panhellenion Club* and established the *Greek Community of South Australia,* electing businessman Constantinos Kavouras as their President. However, almost every aspect of community life in Adelaide, until 1940, experienced a decline. In 1933 an appeal began to raise money to purchase land and erect a church. The land was bought in 1936 and in November 1937 the foundation stone of the church of *Taksiarhes* was laid. Pre-World War II Greek communities were formed in the far north of Queensland and spread for two thousand kilometers with their main pursuit being the acquisition of sugar cane plantations. Greeks and Cypriots lived in the main towns of Babinda, Ayr, Tully and Home Hill, opening up their own restaurants, cafes and milk bars. Although the arrival of the first Greek migrant in Brisbane dates back to 1860, the *Greek Orthodox Community in Brisbane* did not begin to register members until March 1928.

Approximately 200 islanders settled in the tropical town of Innisfail after 1910 and by 1925 had organised a community. Many of the immigrants had been working at the sugar cane and banana plantations since the beginning of 1924. As a result of the settlement in Townsville, the *Greek Community of Townsville* was established and the parish priest G. Kateris was appointed to perform the religious services and to teach Greek to the children gathered in rural towns. He also conducted liturgies in the *Church of the Saint Theodore* (*Agioi Theodori*), which was being built by the local community. Even though the first Greek landed in Tasmania in 1860 only a few Greeks, from Kythera, settled there prior to the period of massive Greek migration to the island as a result of the government works in the hydroelectric project. So it was not surprising that an organised community was not established until 1953.

The institution of the Greek *Koinotita* (Community) was the focal point of community life, the provider of Greek language education and the

custodian of the Orthodox faith for and on behalf of the entire Greek community, the *Homogenia.* They were formed during the late years of the nineteenth century in Sydney and Melbourne as governing bodies for those identifying with the Greek Orthodox faith. The communities had the mandate to administer the affairs of the entire group identifying with Greece, its culture and Orthodox faith, despite the fact that many members elected not to pay their dues and not to enrol in the community's register. The community's network was responsible for establishing the Greek language afternoon schools, erecting churches, administering funds, and employing priests, teachers and administrators. Their progress was seriously affected by antagonistic and divisive attitudes instigated by lay and clergy leaders seeking to impose their own opinion. The quarrels led to serious litigation that deeply affected the welfare of the members. On many occasions priests were expelled, leaders were outvoted, teachers were replaced and elections results were placed in doubt as a result of the political affiliations of rival leaders. The communities which commenced initially as church entities were after the 1950s transformed into community-wide organizations headed by a board of elected directors.

With the influx of Greeks after 1952, the Ecumenical Patriarchate with the endorsement of the Greek Government imposed a new program of community organization, establishing new suburban ecclesiastic [parish] communities with the participation only of approved laymen by the Church. This program aimed to decentralize the management of organised Hellenism so that the Church could benefit financially and in terms of power and authority. This policy was promoted as a major national case and was supported by the consular representatives of Greece during the following years with only a few exceptions. The dramatic culmination of the split between the Church and the communities came on 9 June 1960 when the Management Council of the *Greek Orthodox Community of Adelaide* (GOCA) decided to split from the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia. In February 1975, the election of the Titoularian Metropolitan of Militoupolis Stylianos Charkianakis as the fifth Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia was announced. The contribution of the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia has been important in the areas of spiritual and pastoral services and education. Orthodoxy as a faith, as well as a culture, acted as the common bond among Greek settlers and emerged as a source of language and cultural loyalty for Hellenism.

Greek migrants contributed substantially towards a European profile in Australia. They embellished Australian life with an efficient and effective network in marketing, building and development, as well as in academia and the service and hospitality industries. With the consolidation of the Greek community, the traditional suspicion of the local Australian society towards Greek migrants and their linguistic and cultural background evaporated. Suspicion gradually changed to cautious tolerance, and later acceptance. The unresponsiveness of many members of the broader Australian society to the persistent efforts of the smaller numbers of pre-War Greek settlers to integrate was challenged after World War II. Economic prosperity together with the professional achievements and successful social adherence of large waves of Greek migrants and their children began to win over the wider Australian community. The emergence of their Australia-born children, as successful professionals, technocrats, public administrators, merchants and business persons gave the Greek community prominence, a factor which seriously affected the entire society.

In 2005, the Greek Australian community was waging a strenuous campaign to mobilize its second- and third-generation to take an active role in community affairs. This is hardly surprising considering the aging of Greek migrants, who by the year 2020 will comprise less than 5% of the total Greek Australian community. Without any hope of another Greek migration, Greek Australians rely on their Australian-born generations to maintain the Greek cultural identity, manifested through the Orthodox faith, the Ancient Greek world, and strong influences of the European and Oriental worlds. They have taught them the art of political lobbying, mobilizing Australian public opinion behind domestic policies affecting their community in Australia as well as in the old country. They have taught them to realize the power of the vote, to be strong through education, influential through business, effective through public rallies and their own individual and communal affluence. The aspiration of Greek settlers arriving in Australia immediately after WWII was to establish their families, socially and politically, in a stable environment, to win Australian public approval through citizenship and the cooperation of influential segments of the society, to maintain a vigorous stand on issues affecting the mother country, and to contribute to the welfare and development of their new country. The future of their children was their main concern.

1.1 A Brief History of the Greek language Education

The educational activities of the Greek community during the first fifty years of substantial settlement in Australia (1900-1952) were inadequate due to demographic limitations and the nature of immigration, which remained entirely male-dominated until 1949. The number of families was comparatively small while concentrations of Greeks in large urban centres began only after 1935. These factors did not allow the operation of systematic schools, except in Melbourne, Perth and Sydney.

Greek immigrants were inspired by the diachronic continuity of Hellenic civilization and regarded their identity as the basic ingredient of Western civilization. Community-based schools operated in all major cities, sponsored by the Greek business community, mainly restaurant owners and small proprietors. Greek communities managed to employ qualified teachers of Greek with the appointment of Alexandra Vrachnas (1924) and Archimandrite Metrophanis (1931) in Sydney; Archimandrite Theophylaktos in Melbourne (1931); Archimandrite Germanos (1916) and Anna Perivolaris in Perth (1935); while the Greek Government appointed the first teacher to Perth in 1945. The services of the priests and certain female high school graduates were sought in most cases to act as classroom teachers, whose knowledge of pedagogy and English were very limited, often creating confusing experiences for students.

In Perth, in 1913, Archim. Germanos Iliou established the first part-time evening school named 'Pittakos', and in 1929 the first teacher to Australia was appointed there by the Greek government, receiving remuneration equal to a priest's from the *Hellenic Community of W.A.* (Western Australia). In Adelaide the first school operated systematically only after 1936. In Melbourne, although the GOCM had established the first evening school in 1898, it was not able to secure the consistent operation of a school until the 1950s. The generosity of the regional organizations, the good-heartedness of individuals, particularly businessmen, the conscientiousness of teaching staff and the anxiety of the parents saved the school from permanent closure. However, its operation was almost casual, as it was transferred from the mezzanine floor of restaurants to halls and its function was interrupted according to the economic situation of the community and whichever dispute was in vogue at the time.

In contrast, the educational services in Sydney operated methodically, perhaps due to the antagonism, between the GOCS and the *Council of the*

Cathedral of St. Sophia. Two schools were established and operated which were also used as power bases by the councils' members during their disputes and schisms, with the children's parents divided in supporting one or the other faction. In Brisbane and northern Queensland, where collective associations were formed by Greeks working in the huge sugar plantations of Innisfail, Babinda, Tully, Home Hill and Townsville, evening schools operated with clergy undertaking teaching duties. In Brisbane, the local community operated the first school with the Orthodox Rector Daniel Maravelis as its teacher in 1923 and in Innisfail and Townsville the first lessons began in 1928.

Metropolitan Theophylaktos (1947-1958) began a program of improving Greek education, which until that time had had no assistance or direction. His objective was for the Metropolis to take over and be responsible for the implementation of teaching programs in Greek language and culture to Greek children in Australia. Theophylaktos demanded the transfer of Greek teaching staff to Australia, the shipment of books and supporting material and financial support for the teachers. His request for free books was granted through the efforts of the *Australian Greek Association in Athens* who successfully organised the first shipment of educational books to Australia for the educational needs of community schools. A teaching grant from the Greek government was also approved in July 1948 and funds were made available at the start of the new school year of 1949.

The problem with the appointment of teachers from Greece to the Australian Greek community schools was essentially a financial one as community institutions were unable to take responsibility for the salaries and maintenance of these teachers. With the financial difficulties of the early post-war years, both the communities and the Church appeared cautious about undertaking responsibility for the ever-increasing salaries of the transferred teaching staff. For this reason, the communities were prudently constrained to employ only teachers who had already immigrated to Australia. In 1978, however, the Greek Government finally decided to introduce the institution of *Education Advisors* and one year later appointed hundreds of transferred teachers to all capital cities to serve in Greek community ethnic schools. Their contribution was substantial as they managed to revive Greek language teaching in many remote country towns, while they reinforced the ethnic school environment, assisting their Australian-born colleagues with their high language competence.

Until the 1970s, the system of the afternoon schools was ailing. The number of operating schools was minimal and the organization sub-standard. Children and parents showed the same indifference towards Greek language education and an unwillingness to attend consistently. In Sydney, for instance, the community was running eight schools with a total of 600 students for the needs of 40,000 settlers. The long distances that they had to cover to access their ethnic schools and the tiredness of children at the day school, the costs to families, and the discouraging policy of the Australian Government were some of the reasons for their indifference. Furthermore, attendance at school was not consistent as some parents used their children as interpreters, while ignorant mainstream teachers openly discouraged students of Greek from attending in preference to sport. The lessons of the afternoon school were until 1969 exclusively for primary school level. Certain problems emerging from the weekly teaching program included the variety of age groups and grade levels, and the disparity between the oral proficiency and literacy level of the students. There was also the issue of the passion and force of the ecclesiastic representative. Community confrontation further augmented these problems. The hierarchy of the church maintained close relations with successive post-WWII conservative Greek governments, ensuring the marginalization of their community opponents. Such antagonistic and acrimonious behaviour was detrimental to the development of educational programs.

Even though Australians' interest in the teaching of the Ancient Greek language was expressed as early as 1814, with the operation of the school, '*Reverend Henry Futon's Classical Academy*', the teaching of Modern Greek was introduced into the educational system only from the 1970s. The introduction of Modern Greek at *New England University* in the country town of Armidale, N.S.W., drew favourable comments from the leaders of Hellenism in Australia who felt that the study of the language of the Greek migrants was a significant cultural achievement. A short time later, the *Universities of Sydney and Melbourne* (1974) followed the example set by *New England University*.

The idea for the establishment of Greek Orthodox Daily Schools, under the supervision of the Communities, was suggested initially by Metropolitan Timotheos Evangellinides in 1934, but became the Archdiocese's official goal in 1961 when Ezekiel proposed it at the *All Clergy-Laity Congress*. Having a good knowledge of the American school education system, Ezekiel regarded the afternoon schools as 'schools of need, where our children would be taught the

basic elements of a Greek Orthodox education'. After 1970, when the community organisations managed to clear their initial debts, they moved towards the purchase of buildings, which could be used primarily as afternoon schools and later as daily schools. On August 21, 1972 the *Community of North Carlton* in Melbourne bought the old Jewish School building to accommodate its afternoon primary school and its high school, giving it the title *St. John's Greek Orthodox College*. The same building would later accommodate the first Greek Orthodox bilingual school of Hellenism in Australia (1978).

The successful implementation of the institution of Greek Orthodox daily schools, initiated by Archimandrite Kourtessis in 1978 in Melbourne, was followed by the establishment of daily schools under the authority of the church-communities in Sydney, Adelaide and Perth, based on the concept of bilingual schools which would maintain the Orthodox tradition enriched with elements of Greek culture and traditional values. However, the main provider of Greek language education, throughout the second half of the 20t^{h} century remained the ethnic schools, administered by the Greek communities, the church and a consortium of independent individuals, settled primarily in Melbourne.

In 2005 there were approximately 40,000 students of the Greek language attending classes organised by 11 providers. It was estimated that almost 26% of those students were of non-Greek language background. Most of them (82%) attended government and independent daily schools. There were 194 government and 27 independent schools offering classes in Greek across the country. Courses in Greek language, culture and civilization were introduced as tertiary disciplines in the *Universities of Notre Dame, Adelaide, Flinders, Melbourne, La Trobe, RMIT, Macquarie, Sydney* and *N.S.W.,* attracting approximately 1000 tertiary students. *La Trobe University* in 1997, emerged as the most "Hellenized" university of the Diaspora, establishing in addition to the Greek Studies Program, the *National Centre for Hellenic Studies and Research (NCHSR)*. The mission of the latter is to disseminate the Hellenic culture and civilization and propagate research and cultural activities related to Hellenism in Australasia. Incorporated *Societies of Friends of the NCHSR* were established in Perth, Sydney, Canberra and Brisbane to disseminate the objectives of the Centre and to assist with the implementation of its goals. *RMIT University* also administers an Archival Centre for the Greek community.

PART II: Greek Language Education in Australia

2.0 Introduction

Greek has been classified as one of the nine priority languages of wider use in Australia and is taught in all states and territories in a variety of systems and levels of education. Network analysis shows the importance of family networks in maintaining the core culture among members of the Greek community. The over-riding attitude towards education and culture dictates maintenance of Greek as a medium of communication or as a symbol of identity. Tamis and Gauntlett (1993) have argued that the significance of Greek for Australia derives principally from the established presence of a vast number of Greek speaking residents (estimated at 320,000) and of many more thousands of Australians with ancestral, sentimental, professional, cultural and intellectual ties with Greece and Greeks. Greek remains the sole modern descendant of the Hellenic branch of the Indo-European family of languages, in which fundamental texts of western civilization and Christian scripture were formulated and transmitted through the ages.

The vitality of the Greek language in Australia is determined by a variety of factors including the disposition of Greek community members towards it and their desire for continued distinctiveness as a group. Sociocultural factors include the existence of a large number of speakers, the creation of broad functional areas and an adequate community network which will develop language use outside and beyond the group controlled areas of home, church and ethnic school. Also important are the promotion of Greek to the broader society, the perceived prestige of the language, the ability to rally institutional support from the government, education policy, industry and media support, and demographic characteristics such as residential concentration, the birth rate, the rate of exogamy and the degree of interactional dynamics characterizing the Greek community. Greek Australians, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, display the strongest degree of ethnolinguistic vitality of all ethnic groups in Australia. Among the Greek settlers and their children exposed to a language-contact situation, the language loyalty towards Greek, at an inter-generational level, continues to be the strongest if compared with other ethnicities. The shift to English (currently 8% among 2nd generation) is determined by the steady

decline in the intake of Greek migrants from Greece since 1974, the inter-ethnic marriage patterns especially in areas with low concentrations of Greeks and the attenuating effects of multiculturalism, which, although it promotes the maintenance of diverse cultures, compels the use of one common linguistic medium among the various ethnic groups.

Greek serves a wide range of purposes in Australia from the strictly utilitarian (communication for domestic and professional purposes) to cultural and ethnic identification. Some of these are open to both Greeks and non-Greeks. Thus in the educational context, objectives can include acquisition of practical fluency skills, knowledge of the cultural context of the language, developing a sense of cross-cultural tolerance or simply development of the intellectual and linguistic capacity of the student. Greek has three main functions in Australia: (a) that of a community language employed by members of the Australian Greek community in a communicative and symbolic role, (b) that of a second language of socio-economic and political significance for Australia and (c) that of the modern sequel to the tradition of Hellenic Antiquity which is perceived to have particular cultural significance for Australia and the West as a whole.

Other factors conducive to the retention of Greek include the social isolation of large numbers of Greek immigrants and the Greek experience in Diaspora. Greek culture is different from Anglo-Australian and tends to insulate Greek immigrants, even when their children have socially integrated into the mainstream society. Recent evidence (Tamis, 2002) suggest that approximately 30% of Greek immigrants do not mix socially with any other ethnic group in Australia. They form relationships more readily with southern Europeans with whom they share similarities in culture. Large proportions of the world's Greek-speaking population have been living outside the Greek nation-state since antiquity and thus have a long tradition of loyalty to Greek language and culture. Greek is not just a medium of communication for expatriate Greeks, but a social symbol and a key ingredient of ethnic identification. The vast majority of Greek settlers (96%) believe that people of Greek descent living in Australia should have knowledge of Greek. Reasons closely linked with preserving the heritage, culture and ethnic identity account for almost 61% of the responses, whereas practical and linguistic reasons comprised 34%. Second generation respondents proportionally outnumbered their first generation counterparts in suggesting cultural values as the main reason for language loyalty to the mother tongue.

2.1 The Structure and Organization of the Greek Language Education

In 2005, Greek is taught throughout Australia in all States and Territories in a wide variety of systems and levels of education. Greek is offered at over 500 educational establishments in total, ranging from primary and secondary schools to tertiary institutions, state bilingual schools, independent Greek daily schools, evening colleges, community and Greek Orthodox Church organisations, language insertion classes, independent colleges of the Anglican and United Churches and independent ethnic schools.

The rationale and the orientation of the teaching varies from school to school and from approved authority to authority. Greek is offered as a bilingual program, as a mother tongue development program, as a cultural awareness program, as a second and foreign language program and as a combined language program selecting from the above.

Australia is the only country with a multicultural setting which has a national policy on languages. Its States and Territories, in theory at least, advocate the importance of teaching of a Language Other than English (LOTE) to all primary and post-primary children. Since 1987, all four major States, with the exception of Queensland accelerated efforts and produced formal policies with clear implementation strategy plans in support of the LOTEs. To judge by the LOTE implementation plans of the various states, Greek is a priority language only in South Australia (SA), Victoria and New South Wales (NSW) in spite of its claim to be the strongest maintained language, the language with the highest retention rate in education, the language with the highest number of post-graduate students at tertiary level and the language with the strongest ethnolinguistic vitality in Australia.

In 2005, Greek is offered as a mother tongue or as a second or foreign language development program in over 25 pre-school institutions in Australia. Bilingual pre-school and childcare programs in Greek operate in NSW, Australian Capital Territory (ACT), Western Australia (WA) and Victoria. In three pre-school language programs operating in Victoria and NSW almost half of the teacher-student contact takes place in Greek. Students are introduced to letter drafting, story reading and art and craft in Greek and are involved in various language activities, including narrative stories, songs and games. The popularity of the classes especially among second and third-generation parents is demonstrated by the sharp increase in the number of students attending these schools.

The teaching of Greek in government primary schools has expanded considerably since 1982, however during the first five years of the new century there was a decline in the number of students attending classes for mother tongue maintenance and development. Greek is not offered in any independent systemic primary school in Australia, other than those administered by the Greek community and Church and the International Grammar School in Sydney. Greek is staffed in Australian government primary schools in three ways: supernumerary (when the Greek teaching staff is appointed in addition to the general teachers), insertion and self-funded.

With the increase in the number of students emerging from Greek households where Greek is not spoken at home, the variety of streams of Greek language programs offered, depending on the state, the socio-cultural characteristics of the student population of each school, demand and the school's philosophy was restricted to the following[1]:

- The Greek as a second language acquisition program offered in South Australia, New South Wales and Victoria whereby Greek is offered as a second and/or foreign language, with emphasis on developing communicative skills of the students.

- The bilingual program offered only in Victoria (Lalor North Primary School), whereby instruction is provided through the medium of both languages, one for certain subjects, the other for others.[2]

- The Greek as a cultural enrichment subject, or as a language awareness program, whereby Greek is offered to substantiate and enrich cultural and linguistic understanding.

The most popular Greek programs offered in Victoria, Adelaide and Sydney are those involving second language programs, attended by 47% of the students.

2.2 The Providers of Greek language education

In 2005, over 36,000 students attended classes in Greek provided by the state and territory governments (primary, secondary, distance education centres, Saturday schools of modern languages), the independent denominational

schools, the Greek daily schools, Greek community schools (organized by the Greek Communities, the Greek Orthodox Church and independent educational entities, especially in Victoria) and private multilingual centres. An additional number of 1150 students are enrolled in undergraduate and postgraduate Greek studies in ten tertiary institutions, both state universities as well as the Catholic University of Notre Dame in Western Australia.[3]

Greek language programs at both primary and secondary levels varied substantially in nature, objectives and intensity across Australia, depending upon the provider and the student composition. Government schools in SA and NSW are the strongest providers of Greek language education in these States catering for the 73% and 46% of the total number of students attending classes in Greek, while in Victoria ethnic schools organised by community and independent sources are the strongest providers (47%). The most popular Greek programs offered in Adelaide and Sydney are those involving foreign language programs. The combined mother tongue development and second language programs are most popular in Victoria.

Information provided by State Departments of Education reveal considerable increases in the number of students enrolled in Greek classes organized by government primary schools in South Australia and New South Wales, with parallel marginal decreases in all other States, including Victoria, despite the variations in the size of primary school language enrolments between States. For example, in 2005, South Australia was the State with the largest number of students attending Greek in government schools (5718) of whom 78% were of non-Greek background (NGB), while Greek was offered to 5426 children attending government primary and secondary schools in NSW, of whom 68% were non-native speakers. In Victoria the number of students attending Greek classes in 2005 in government schools was 4,068. Greek is also the language studied by most primary school children in NSW, attracting approximately 25% of the total number of students enrolled in the LOTE programs, while it is the second most preferred language of primary school children in SA. In government primary schools Greek is offered usually for 90 minutes in non-instructional time, that is, it is treated as a specialist area subject, while in secondary education there are normally 135 minutes of teaching.

In the last five years (2000-2005), the number of primary schools offering regular Greek language programs decreased in Victoria, in agreement with the comparatively low overall number of primary schools providing language

programs. Of the approximately 210 schools offering a LOTE in Victoria of the 1320 government primary schools, only 19 schools offered language program in Greek, while in NSW there were only 37 and in SA 36. This could be interpreted that despite suggestions that the optimum age for language learning was the primary school age, the number of primary schools offering courses in Greek was low. In 2005, most of these schools in Victoria, SA and NSW were offering Greek as a second language acquisition activity. The problem that most primary schools face is the inadequate training of the teachers of Greek and lack of continuity of their programs at post-primary level. There are certain deficiencies in key areas such as teaching material and staffing arrangements with the primary schools offering Greek as a second language. Most teachers teaching Greek at primary schools are Australian-born with limited proficiency in Greek. Particularly in schools which provide language programs from within their own staff, teachers tend not to be trained in Greek. The reliance of numerically small schools on specialist staff, e.g., supernumerary teachers, often has adverse effects as these teachers are seen by the students and the generalist staff with some bias. Currently, the best qualified teachers are in the schools with supernumerary staff.

The function of the language programs in Greek at primary level is reported to have changed, as the Greek community with the twenty-first century entered its last phase of settlement circle, that of citizenship and experienced the emergence of the third and fourth generation of Greek Australians. The strong tendency of the 1970s and 1980s towards mother-tongue development programs in primary schools have been replaced over the last ten years with programs towards second and foreign language, attracting great numbers of students of non-Greek background. From 1990, the number of students of non-Greek background attending Greek in government schools surpassed the number of students who had a home background in Greek in all states, standing in 2005 on an average of 75%. The changing function of Greek is reported to have eased the difficulties of the curriculum with the application of a more simplistic and constrained syllabus, alleviated the competition in class between Greek-speaking and non-Greek background students, which acted as a disincentive for second language learners, and led to the sharp increase of the number of students taking Greek. Greek is not offered in government primary schools in Queensland, Tasmania and Northern territory (NT).

Table I: Number of students undertaking studies in Greek in Australia (Primary and Secondary)

State	Provider	Primary	Secondary		Total
Vic	Government	2822		1246	4068
	Day Greek	893	666	1559	
	VSL		746	360	1106
	Independent	120	340	460	
	Ethnic	4215	1815	6030	**13223**
NSW	Government	4314	1112	5426	
	Day Greek	1218	1083		2301
	VSL	301	301		
	Independent	70	140	210	
	Community	3200	659	3859	**12097**
SA	Government	4861	887	5748	
	Day Greek	380	258		638
	Community	1235	430	1675	**8061**
WA	Government	0	0	0	
	Day Greek	270	217	487	
	Community	482	276	758	**1245**
QLD	Government	0	48	48	
	Community	588	216	804	**852**
TAS	Community	136	59	195	**195**
N.T.	Community	165	38	203	**203**
ACT	Community	180	0	180	
	Daily	28	0	28	**208**
GRAND TOTAL					**36084**

Lack of continuity into post-primary schools is a major problem and disincentive. There is a clear under provision of Greek language programs in secondary schools drawing from feeder primary schools (see *Table I* above). Even in South Australia, the State with the longest history of teaching Greek in its primary schools, during the post war period, paid no real attention to the issue of continuity from primary to secondary, nor to the appointment of full-time supernumerary specialist teachers of Greek in specific primary schools.

Greek is offered at secondary schools since the beginning of the 1970s in government schools in Victoria, South Australia and NSW, including Distance Education Centres (Correspondence Schools) and Saturday schools of Languages. Since then, the number of students attending classes in Greek rose and declined, mainly because Greek enrolment patterns in government schools are determined mainly by the policy of the individual schools on language programs beyond Years 9 and 10, as evidenced by the fact that the secondary schools which provide a continuous language program in the Eastern States from years 7 or 8 to 12 do not exceed 15% of their total number. The decline in the number of students taking Greek in secondary schools is most pronounced at the end of Year 8 and Year 10. Greek is not included in the "core" curriculum of any secondary school.

Greek is amongst the seven most frequently taught languages in government secondary schools in SA, Victoria and NSW, attracting approximately four per cent of the enrolments in *Languages Other Than English* (LOTE). Reinforced by the prevailing demographic characteristics, Greek reached its maximum enrolments in secondary schools in 1985, before its slow, but consistent decline, from 1993 onwards. Available data suggest that there are no gender differences in Greek enrolments at least up to Year 9. However, differences between the numbers of male and female students begin to emerge from Year 10, reaching its climax by Year 12, where female enrolments are more than double the male enrolments (74%) in all States where the subject is taught.

Table 2: Number of students attending Greek in Victoria, NSW, SA and WA (1998-2005)

State	Provider		1988	1992	1998	2005	% of NGBS* (2005)
Vic	Gov. Primary	3929	4265	2784	2822		77
	Gov. Secondary	3837	4012	1572	1246		21
	Daily Greek	1633	1840	2107	1559		21
	Community	11,657	12,779	7700	6030		2
NSW	Gov. Primary	2351	3581	3312	4314		79
	Gov. Secondary	3164	2850	2280	1112		29
	Daily Greek	320	1004	1988	2301		8
	Community	5345	5299	3476	3859		3
SA	Gov. Primary	4327	4956	5342	4861		81
	Gov. Secondary	1313	1326	893	887		23
	Daily Greek	112	185	477	655		9
	Community	1985	2131	1824	1525		3
WA	Gov. Primary **		0	897	1005	0	0
	Gov. Secondary	30	43	0	0		0
	Daily Greek	0	68	163	487		89
	Community	280	367	300	758		2

**NGBS= Non Greek background Students.*

*** All Greek primary classes in Greek were offered as insertion classes in WA administered by the Greek Orthodox Community of Evangelismos.*

Despite the serious reduction in the number of students undertaking Greek at HSC level (Year 12) during the last ten years (1994-2004), in 2005 there were over 2000 students studying Greek at matriculation level (Years 11 and 12) in Australia, while certain Universities were awarding 10% bonus mark for those students undertaking a LOTE at matriculation. The decline is partially justified by the policy of many government schools not to offer Greek as part of the normal teaching program at this level. Despite the unfavourable trends, Greek continued to be one of the most popular languages at Year 12 level, attracting over 1200 students in Victoria, NSW and SA. The status of Greek, its syllabus and its assessment must be

improved especially amongst NGB students for the subject to attract healthier numbers at this level. Currently only a three per cent of NGB students and "false bilinguals" manage to reach the matriculation examination in Australia. NGB student enrolment will only rise substantially with the introduction of extended programs designed to cater for the needs of students with no previous or limited knowledge of Greek. This program should be enlarged to widen the catchment area within the Greek community to include students of Greek background with a non native-like command of Greek.

The average weekly teaching time for Greek is 135 minutes at Year 7 in most secondary schools, rising to 220 minutes for the linguistically elite students reaching Year 12. All secondary schools offering Greek require a minimum of two years study of the subject. Current conditions on the frequency, extent and consistency of teaching do not allow for a positive linguistic proficiency and the improvement of language skills of their students. Parental support for the teaching of Greek in government primary and secondary schools is moderate to almost non-existent. Furthermore, as it was already noticed, there is a lack of any real and essential co-operation, and thus continuity, between feeder primary schools and the prospective recipient secondary institution. Many Greek programs at secondary schools operate in regions with no substantial number of feeder primary schools offering the subject, or in suburbs, which used to have concentrated numbers of Greek settlers in the 1970s and 1980s, prior to their internal immigration into developing suburbs in the 1990s and 2000s.

In 2005, Greek courses are offered only in the School of Languages of NSW and Victoria, in an attempt to supplement the mainstream provision of Greek in each of these States. Greek and Italian remain the most popular languages in terms of the number of providing centres in the Victorian School of Languages and are offered by more than 61% of both metropolitan and country Centres.[4] These schools offer 90 instruction hours in Greek during the year, outside regular school hours, usually on Saturdays. Although the majority of Greek enrolments are in Years 7 to 12, language instruction is available from Year 1 to 12, while is the third major provider of LOTE at matriculation level after the Greek community based schools and the systemic government schools. During the last four years the number of students attending the Victorian school of Languages continued

to rise from 942 in 2000 to 1106 in 2004.

The Independent Greek Daily Schools commenced their operation in 1979 with a transitional bilingual program founded by St. John's Greek Orthodox College in Melbourne. Since then, another 10 Greek daily schools have been established in four States, of which eight continue their services, catering for a total of over 5000 students. Two of them (St. Andrew's Grammar in Perth and Alphington Grammar in Melbourne) appear to be broad-syllabus-centred and operate on a secular non-ethnospecific basis, drawing their clientele from the mainstream society.[5] One of them (St. Anargyroi College in Oakleigh) is administered by the local Greek community of Oakleigh, another one (St. John's Greek Orthodox College has been purchased in 1992 by the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese), while the remaining five[6], although they have been established by local laity communities are more exposed to Church authority.

Greek Independent Schools offer their Greek language programs to students of all ability levels resulting in high retention rates amongst even NGB students from Years 1 to 10 (approximately 85%) as well as at matriculation levels amongst Greek background students. Surveyed teachers of these schools claimed that their schools were founded with a view to improving, via enhancing teaching of Greek, family cohesion and self-esteem. Alphington Grammar portrays itself as a non-denominational school and offers a second and foreign language program in Greek as a core subject. All of them, despite their intra-group politics are independent from higher authority, be that of Church or Government, and to a significant extent, maintain their autonomy. The Greek Government contributes substantial assistance to these schools by means of language teachers and resources but does not exercise control over their administration. The number of teaching periods in Greek varies from school to school, depending on the school philosophy and the objectives of the approved authority. Classes in Greek are offered from a minimum of five periods per week to a maximum of seven to beginner, intermediate and advanced groups

Overall enrolment numbers have significantly declined only in St. John's Greek Orthodox College of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese from 704 in 1992 to less than 500 in 2005, while all other daily schools considerably increased their numbers. Available date reveal that the number of NGB students attending the independent Greek daily schools will continue to rise,

with a parallel increase in the number of these schools.[7]

LOTE programs are not developed nor encouraged in many independent schools to judge by the fact that over 40% do not offer a LOTE. The teaching of Greek has been eradicated in recent years in independent schools despite a growing interest in cross-cultural education. There were only two schools in Victoria and one in Sydney offering Greek to 280 students at secondary level. No primary school offers Greek. Most independent colleges employ two curricula, separating beginners from advanced students, and working in composite classrooms. Greek is not taught in Catholic education, despite the enormous number of students of Greek Orthodox background attending both primary and post-primary catholic schools in Australia. However, the Ancient variety of Greek is taught to over 700 students in Melbourne and Sydney, administered in nine prestigious Independent Colleges.[8]

A major contribution to language loyalty efforts of the Greek community and Greek teaching is made by the substantial number of part-time community based ethnic schools which operate in all states and territories throughout Australia, administered by the Greek Communities, the Orthodox Church and individual educators. The main objectives of these schools include the maintenance of the mother tongue, the development of cultural awareness and the support of family cohesion and ethnic identity. Available data suggest that almost 16,000 students study Greek in more than 300 after-hour community schools in Australia, comprising approximately 41% of all Ethnic schools operating in Australia and catering for 51 LOTEs. With the exception of Victoria, almost all Greek Ethnic schools are community-based establishments, administered by local Greek communities and the Church. In Melbourne, many schools are organised by individuals and organizations without religious affiliations, administered by an independent school body and an executive board of directors. A rather substantial number of students (proportionally averaging 4%) attend private classes in Victoria and NSW. In fact, since 1984 the number of students enrolled at independently run community schools in Victoria was higher than all other providers together.[9]

The structure of Greek ethnic schools differs from a single teacher schools set up at the request of a community group or a brotherhood or at their initiative of an individual, to more complex establishments which may retain

their autonomy or depend on intermediate community authorities which carry responsibility or act as the approved authority for a greater number of schools operating in different suburbs. Most community groups (70%) in all states and territories have their own buildings and facilities which are utilized as ethnic school classes, however, most independent Greek ethnic schools (95%) hold their own classes in Government and Catholic schools. Many school councils impose excessive hiring fees, restrictions and conditions which could not be met by the directors of the Greek afternoon schools forcing them to change the venues for their classes regularly.

The lack of an official policy securing the registration of the Greek ethnic schools to an educational authority should be viewed as the major reason for the absence of proper accreditation and accountability and the low prestige that they enjoy, particularly by professional educators. However, the existence of over 180 parochial Greek Communities and parishes and over 600 brotherhoods and associations in Australia makes the notion of accountability complex and subtle. Greek ethnic schools have an open admission policy and accept all children and adults regardless of ethnic background. Available data reveal that almost 78% of all students at Greek ethnic schools use Greek at home, compared with the average 53% for other LOTEs.

Children enrolled at the Greek ethnic schools range from native speakers to those with practically no knowledge of Greek. In the intermediate level there are passive bilinguals, those with a monolingual family background and those with a bilingual, those with both parents of Greek origin and those children of mixed marriages. The most serious difficulty that many ethnic schools face is to grade together students of different ages and mixed abilities, without regard to their varying cognitive development, causing embarrassment, lack of interest, infrequent attendance and therefore progressive shift to English. This is exacerbated in some cases, particularly in WA, Queensland and NT, by the lack of professionally trained and qualified teachers and scarcity of teaching material.

There is a growing support for ethnic schools by community members and parents arguing that they not only supplement the formal schools system, but also fulfil a more important and unique role: they reinforce the sense of identity. Support for ethnic schools was also expressed by the Government recognizing their role in language teaching as a supplement to the language offered in formal education. Since 1990, the state governments recognized

the ethnic schools as eligible to offer accreditation for internal assessment of matriculating students.

It is necessary to bear in mind the lack of language methodology options within Greek teaching at ethnic schools given the limited resources. The methodology used in these schools depends on the training, age and place of birth of the teachers-in-charge and the provider. Australian-born teachers with formal qualifications employ a functional approach (65%), based on activities aiming at developing the communicative skills of their students rather than at understanding individual grammatical structures. Depending on the level of education (primary – secondary) and the actual year level of their students, they rely heavily the last five years on resource material developed by the *Paideia Omogenon* Program of the University of Crete (67%), other imported text books (18%), as well as their own (15%).

2.3 Issues in Teaching Greek

2.3.1 Greek Language Teachers

Available data indicate that most teachers of Greek in secondary government schools are dissatisfied with the support that they receive from their own school and the Departments of Education. They claim that their status in the school is low because Greek is offered only as an elective, often competing in a group with non-language subjects and they suffered from the insecurity of their position within their own school. Furthermore, they are under continuous pressure to maintain their student intake in a "viable state", without receiving support from the parents or the school community.

The increasing emphasis on the development and attainment of proficiency in students necessitates that teachers of Greek must possess the highest level of linguistic competence themselves and perhaps the competence of an educated native-speaker. Most of them suggest that Australian-born teachers of Greek be encouraged to complete either a fourth year of Greek studies concentrating on the language in Australia or attend an additional year of studies in Greece. It has been generally accepted, however, that many teachers are not adequately prepared and they do not meet students' expectations. Many primary teachers of Greek did not major in Greek or were not properly qualified to teach the subject. Most of them

obtained their education in Australia, with limited postgraduate studies and few had regular in-country experience.

Surveyed Greek teachers in government schools claimed that while literature has a legitimate place in the school curriculum, the emphasis should be placed on practical communication skills, together with an understanding of the range of different aspects of the Greek culture, given the constant changing function of Greek and the emergence of the third generation of Greek Australians in schools. Most of them expressed the need for brief in service programs at the tertiary level for their professional developments or proposed the establishment and operation in tertiary institutions of intensive language courses during the period of vacations. The professional development issue is very pressuring amongst educational circles as many teachers continue to employ very traditional and inflexible approaches in teaching Greek. Tertiary institutions have taken positive initiatives to upgrade the skills of practicing teachers. They organized, with the assistance of the Federation of Ethnic Schools and the state governments specially designed teachers training courses in Victoria, South Australia and NSW lasting for one semester, offering award certificates. Furthermore, tertiary institutions have also introduced courses designed to provide practicing teachers of Greek with additional or supplementary qualifications in Greek. For example, the Greek Studies program at La Trobe University offers subjects such as *Issues in Teaching Modern Greek*, *Greek in Contact with English* designed to enhance the language competence of prospective teachers of Greek.[10]

As the Greek community (ethnic) schools are not formally registered, their directors select teachers on the basis of their linguistic competence, their loyalty to culture and to a lesser extend on their formal training and qualifications. The majority (70%) preferred to engage teachers with Australian teaching qualifications, but with a linguistic proficiency obtained in Greece. Most teachers employed by Ethnic schools receive remuneration which does not commensurate with the award rates of the teachers engaged in other systems of education. This is explained partially by the fact that most perceive their engagement as part-time and sessional. As the Greek community is entering its forth generation since the government controlled massive immigration began in 1950 and almost two generations with no new immigrants since 1975, it becomes apparent that the language profile shifted from language maintenance of the mother tongue to language

maintenance or teaching of a second language. Consequently, teachers' profile is changing sharply. Greek-born teachers are gradually being replaced by Australian-born who comprise already the vast majority. Therefore, the need for linguistic competence of these teachers in Greek is more demanding. It is noted that old rivalries between ethnic school teachers and those employed in government schools have been eradicated, following the pressures exerted by the changing structure and function of Greek teaching and the utilization of the same teachers from both sectors.

2.3.2 The Syllabus of Greek

The teaching of Greek in government and community schools involves a wide range of syllabus types depending on the teacher and the provider. The majority of the teachers with overseas qualifications, employed in community schools are inclined to use grammar-based syllabus. The emphasis for them is to cultivate and develop all four language macro-skills. Australian-born locally trained teachers adopt more generally the functional and/or notional type of syllabus with less intensive grammatical analysis. They focus mainly on the listening and speaking skills of their students. Most government primary school teachers select a wide and innovative range of syllabus for their beginner and intermediate classes, including issue-based, situational, genre and activity-based (e.g. role play, description sessions, speaking to describe, speaking to inform). While they use a functional-type language assignments in advanced classes.

It is broadly accepted that the organised syllabus by both the government and community schools is not oriented to cater for NGB students. This is especially true with the matriculating students of NGB, who refuse to undertake Greek because the designed syllabus is extremely difficult for their level of language competence.[11] However, there are many teachers who believe that making the courses in Greek easier will not enlarge the clientele base.[12] They argue that the syllabus must be attractive and relevant to students needs and Greek courses must treat Greek language both as a skill as well as a gateway into the culture and civilization. The Education Departments in NSW and SA adopted two different types of syllabus for matriculating students to comply with the changes in the teaching of Greek: (a) the extended syllabus for beginners and "false bilinguals" and (b) the specialist syllabus for the advanced learners. Furthermore, in all States and Territories of Australia Greek beginner courses in secondary schools are in

their infant stages with inadequate resources in the area of curriculum planning and development.

Audio-visual material on cultural and historical background is also inadequate. Many reference sources are grossly outdated in their representation of Greek society and culture, dwelling on the image of poverty-striven villages, the donkey-riding peasant, which do not portray a realistic picture of contemporary Greece. Some important texts continue to employ obsolete vocabulary and prescriptive grammar, which are seen by the students as unattractive, boring and irrelevant to their needs.

The student clientele of Greek is changing sharply in Australia. Almost all students now entering secondary education are Australia-born, while the vast majority of their parents are also born in Australia, thus the linguistic ability of these students is expected to continue to weaken and undergo attrition. It is therefore necessary for the Greek curriculum to employ more enjoyable techniques breaking away from the traditional methods that are often tedious and do not have any positive feedback and by gearing properly designed resources towards NGB students.

In the past, State government initiatives have provided funding for large-scale syllabus development for primary school students in Victoria and SA Australia without the expected results.[13] Until 1998, most Greek language teachers in Australia were improvising in their effort to attract and encourage their students in second and foreign language learning, as there were no systematically designed, motivating teaching material to take Greek language students from the preparatory stages to proficiency. Teachers were complaining of the complete absence of teaching materials relevant to the needs of their students. Most textbooks produced by the Greek Ministry of Education were anachronistic, suitable for the needs of students living in Greece, while those locally produced[14] had only a restricted regional and peripheral use.

For a range of reasons the cost of books published overseas (mainly USA, Greece and UK) has increased prohibitively. The situation acted until 2000 as a disincentive particularly for the establishment of small courses in Greek and/or new courses in Greek, which at their initial stages were not expected to attract high student numbers. Serious deficiencies were reported in the range (Tamis *et. al.* 1993:88 ff.), accessibility and adequacy of teaching

materials used and the resources. Practicing teachers in all states claimed that beginner groups in Greek are severely under provided with appropriate course books. In addition, the allocated budget did not provide for adequate library facilities and advanced teaching material. The situation was more critical in secondary schools where Greek competes with other better-equipped and more reliably financed languages, namely Japanese and Indonesian.

2.3.3 Teaching Material for Greek

During the last six years (1999-2004), the teaching material produced within the framework of the *Paedeia Omogenon* Program administered by the Centre of Intercultural and Migration Studies (E.DIA.M.ME) of the University of Crete[15] is now used almost exclusively in South Australia and NSW and the majority of the government and community schools in other States. The *Paideia Omogenon* funded by the European Union and the Greek Ministry of Education produced separate books catering for students learning Greek as second language as well as a foreign language for both Greek-speaking and non-Greek speaking beginners and false bilingual students. Certain books were also produced depicting basic characteristics of the Greek civilization and the historical and cultural characteristics of Australia, thus providing the students, through the genre, with a familiar environment and well accustomed traditions and practices.

Over the last five years more than 300 teachers of Greek were exposed to special awareness seminars. The seminars were organised in Australia by the Scientific Committee of the Program in Australia[16] in collaboration with the Educational Consuls appointed in the Greek Consulates and the Advisors of Greek studies assigned by the Departments of Education in South Australia, NSW and Victoria.[17]

Most teachers who adopted, tested and used the teaching books of the *Paideia Omogenon* Program assessed that the teaching material produced is close to the students' cognitive needs, attractive and relevant to their expectations, structurally applicable to the curriculum restrictions, aesthetically innovative, fulfilling the cultural and the social criteria and the objectives of their lessons. Most language co-ordinators argued that the books of the program are also closely related to the set pedagogical criteria and the geographic and socio-cultural framework of their syllabus. Particularly popular were with the students those books depicting the unique

cultural characteristics of the Australian environment, as they tend to identify with the practices described in these books. The books included motivating activities encouraging student participation and creativity and the themes were developed in a logical and systematic approach satisfying the learning procedures. Most teachers are also satisfied with the special teaching kids prepared by the *Paideia Omogenon* Program for those beginners and "false bilinguals», praising their systematic communicative approach and the originality of the themes.

However there were also certain reservations expressed regarding some books of the Program, emerging mainly from the difference between the linguistic ability of the students and the targeted language level objective of the text. For example, the series of books entitled *Πράγματα και Γράμματα* (Pragmata kai Grammata) designed for primary students are used by secondary school students in government and community schools. Lack of resources and adequate finance do not allow schools to apply realistic streaming of their students according to their competence in Greek. The plethora of levels in linguistic competence makes the universal use of the text in a class situation inaccessible to some students. Therefore, most teachers decide to implement those series which are creative, linguistically less cumbersome, and culturally more tempting, irrespective of their anticipated language level, e.g. the culturally oriented *Εμείς και οι Άλλοι (*Emeis kai oi Alloi) is arguably the most popular book, together with the series entitled *Margarita* in government and community primary schools. The book that is almost universally used by students reaching matriculation is Ο Κόσμος της Ελληνικής (O Kosmos tis Ellinikis), while equally universal is the usage of the series Μια Φορά κι Έναν Καιρό (Once Upon a Time).

Many teachers expressed the view that the emphasis on grammatical and syntactical activities ought to be limited allowing for more audio-lingual activities, enriched with recreational games, which could enhance both the entertainment and participation of the students, but also could be proved useful for their expression and lexicon. The wide use of all books emerging from the history and civilization of Greece, including *Στη Μυθοχώρα με τα Φτερά του Πήγασου (In the Mythic country with the wings of Pegassus*) and *Ιστοριοδρομίες (History-races)* as well as the most recently produced *Από την Ζωή των Ελλήνων της Αυστραλίας (From the Life of the Greeks in Australia).* Broadly speaking, the

teaching books prepared by the *Paideia Omogenon* are being used with a discretional intervention on the part of the teacher, as indeed the high expectations of the linguistic proficiency of students versus a pragmatic concept of linguistic adequacy based on the prevailing Australian environment.

2.3.4 The Epilogue

Until 1973 the teaching of Greek in Australia was confined within the community network and its scope did not extend over the practical and sentimental value of the intragroup needs. The main objective of the Greek community leaders was to maintain the mother tongue, given the time and psychological constraints under which Greek was taught to their Australia-born children, in order to ease their communication barriers with the broader Australian community. Some were prepared to recognize sentimental values, acknowledging that the teaching of Greek would generate feelings of satisfaction to the elderly members of the community and maintain the sentimental bonds with the old country.

Non-Greek students of Greek propose a wide range of purposes for the study of Greek depending on the Age and the level and the nature of study. In early school years students select Greek because of educational and intellectual values; whereas, at the secondary level, Greek is offered as a second and foreign language and, therefore, the objectives to the limitations of intercultural understanding and the development of certain cognitive capacities. Adult students express utilitarian reasons for learning Greek, claiming that the acquisition of the language is important for its practical application, e.g., employment consideration or an effective informal communication with their in-laws and friends following an inter-ethnic marriage or simply travelling overseas. Some, mainly those involved in the area of social work, develop sensitive and tolerant cross-cultural attitudes. Many with a background in classical studies express the opinion that they wish to develop an understanding of the modern Greek language and culture or to develop a linguistic capacity because Greek provides the key to antiquity and the civilizations which exerted a profound influence on the Western tradition. Within these different contexts, the teaching objectives of Greek have changed over the last ten years in Australia, from linguistic to academic, cultural and vocational.

NOTES

1. In 1992 according to Tamis and Gauntlett (1993) there were six streams, incorporating in addition (a) the partial immersion programs in Victoria and SA where instructions commenced in Preps through the medium of Greek for subjects covering 70% of the curriculum and 30% through the medium of English, only to be reversed in Year 6, and (b) the combined bilingual program.

2. In 2005, the Lalor bilingual program in Melbourne operates its language immersion program for its 57 primary students commencing with 14 contact hours in Greek from Preps to Grade 2, reduces the number of hours to 12 for Grades 3 and 4 and to nine for students in Grades 5 and 6. The school offers all subjects in Greek and English, with the exception of Mathematics, which is offered exclusively in Greek up to Grade 4. Greek is alternately used with English in reading and writing sessions, in head writing, word study and the process-writing session, which is conducted, in both languages, on rotating basis.

3. Greek studies are offered in the universities of Notre Dame in WA, the University of Flinders, which also administers a Greek studies program in the University of Adelaide and the University of Darwin, La Trobe University, which also administers a Greek studies program in the University of Melbourne, the RMIT University, the University of Sydney, Macquarie University, the University of New South Wales, while the New England University terminates its Greek Studies program in December 2005.

4. The Victorian School of Languages, previously known as Saturday School of Modern languages, was established in 1935 and is currently the largest provider of LOTE in the Victorian Government school system, incorporating approximately over 500 sessional instructors. The Saturday school of Community languages of NSW began operation in 1978 in six centres in Metropolitan Sydney offering programs in 16 languages.

5. Currently Alphington Grammar has a NGB student intake of 69%, while St. Andrews Grammar has an even greater (83%).

6. Reference is made here to the following schools: All Saints, St. Euphemia and St. Spyridon (NSW) and St. George and St. Spyridon in SA.

7. In 2005, in South Australia the local Greek communities operate two Independent Daily Schools, St. George's is administered by the Greek Orthodox Community of Thebarton and St. Spyridon's by the Greek Orthodox Community of Unley.

8. Ancient Greek courses are being offered amongst the most prestigious colleges in Sydney and Melbourne, including Pymbles Ladies College, Caulfield Grammar,

Xavier and Scots Colleges.

9. The largest ethnic school in Australia is Omiros College operating in Victoria and catering for over 1000 students in 12 school units.

10. Most surveyed teachers of Greek in the Teachers' Training Seminars organised by the National Centre for Hellenic Studies and Research, La Trobe University during the years 2004 and 2005 argued that the popularity of Greek and the level of support that students receive from the general school environment to pursue Greek studies depended on the success of the teacher. Most of them complained that only a small number of Greek teachers attend after hours teacher network in-services to develop further their standing.

11. Most languages, including Italian are offered as foreign languages, thus, the curriculum structure is designed to incorporate mainly beginners and foreign students. Their curricula are easily accessible, easily planned and easily learned. Therefore, students prefer to learn Italian, French or Spanish rather than Greek which is very demanding and planned to receive those students from mainly a Greek cultural background.

12. The German syllabus for matriculating students of German appears to be even more difficult than the Greek one.

13. Reference is made here to the combined Victoria and South Australian Syllabus Committee, which in fact planned and prepared a series of readers for the primary school students of Greek.

14. Reference is made here among others to Psaltis in SA (1972), M. Kasapidis and A. Tamis (1973), M. Maheras-Douvartidis (1989), D. Gruz (1985, 1989), Giota Krilis-Kevans (1983-1985), P. Liveriadis (1980), E. Glaros (1992), N. Foster (1992), A. Theodosiadis (1989), as well as the books produced by the Inter-Departmental Curriculum Committee of Modern Greek of the Victorian and South Australian Ministries for Education involving amongst others K. Kyprianou, B. Athanasiou and J. Burke.

15. A full list of (a) the printing, audio-visual, electronic and soft ware teaching material and (b) the theoretical studies compiled for the Greek language education in Albania, Australia, Canada, Germany, South Africa and the Hellenic Diaspora, incorporating also theoretical and applied approaches in education as well as the Minutes of International Conference on the Greek education in Diaspora, organized by the EDIAMME appear in a special volume.

16. The Scientific Committee of the *Program Paideia Omogenon* for Australia is comprised of Professor A. M. Tamis (La Trobe University), Assoc. Professor, M.

Tsianikas (Flinders University), Dr. P. Nazou (Sydney University), Mr. S. Papasavvas (Notre Dame University), K. Kyprianou, A, Koveos, M. Maheras-Douvartzidis and D. Koutsouvelis (Victoria), E. Glarou (South Australia), M. Conomos (NSW).

17. Reference is made here to the seminars organized to increase teachers' awareness on the benefits to be derived from the use of the teaching material produced by the *Program Paideia Omogenon* of the University of Crete. The seminars were attended by practicing teachers of Greek and were conducted by the following entities: the National Centre for Hellenic Studies and Research, La Trobe University, the Advisors of the Ministry for Education in SA and Victoria, Eleni Glaros and Costas Tripolitakis, the area of Greek Studies in RMIT University, the Consuls of Education in Victoria and NSW, Dina Amanatidou and Dr. Maria Agathangelidou, the Greek Community of Melbourne (involving Kypros Kyprianou and Anna Hatzipanagiotidou), the SA Ministry of Education and Flinders University (involving H. Glarou, Prof. M. Tsianikas and A. Hatzipanagiotidou).

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Greek Education in Great Britain

Margarita Louca-Crann*

RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur de cet article présente l'historique du développement des communautés chypriote et grecque de Grande Bretagne et plus particulièrment celles de Londres en traitant les différentes vagues d'immigration, la structure communautaire et son influence sur l'éducation hellénophone. Il conclut avec un examen de la situation actuelle de cette éducation tout en recommndant l'adoption du matériel didactique du programme *Paideia Omogenon.*

ABSTRACT

The author paints a historical fresco of the Cypriot and Greek community's beginnings and development in the United Kingdom, especially in London. The article treats the various waves of immigration, basic community organizational structure, religious and educational influences on Greek-speaking immigrants and their children in Great Britain. The author concludes by recapitulating with details of the current situation of Greek-language learning in the UK and a strong recommendation to adopt the *Paideia Omogenon* material as soon and as broadly as possible.

1. The first Greek immigrants and Greek communities in Britain

The Fall of Constantinople in 1453 forced a number of scholars, nobles, soldiers and others to flee their home and seek new destinies in Italy, France and other European countries, including England. A group of those first immigrants came to London, but for a century and a half remained an isolated group of humble manual workers.[1]

In later years a group of about a hundred immigrant families, probably from the Peloponnese, were in the end invited to settle in London and offered some land in the Soho area to build their church. In 1677, the Greeks in London were able to acquire their first privately owned Greek church. The leader of those first immigrants was Daniel Voulgaris, but their efforts in the new land

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were greatly assisted by the ex- Archbishop of Samos, Joseph Georgirinis, who happened to reside in London. Greeks lived in the Soho area for about 300 years,[2] as revealed by the name of a main street in the area, Greek Street.

Although it took many centuries before a substantial ethnic minority of Greeks appeared in Britain, there was a regular presence of individual travellers, mainly in London, for trade or studies.

It was in the beginning of the nineteenth century that the first few immigrants were joined by another wave, consisting mainly of dynamic and educated cosmopolitans from Chios, Samos and Smyrna who came to London. They breathed new life into the lingering members of the Greek community. From then on, the Greek community in London prospered, and by the last decades of the nineteenth century, it had gained prominence among the Greek communities in Western Europe.[3]

The first major step in the history of Hellenism in Britain occurred in the 1670s, when Greeks made an effort to organize a community as well as acquire the legal and collective existence which would not only represent them in the eyes of the authorities, but also provide them with continuity and a shelter in difficult times.[4]

Up to the end of the seventeenth century the only noteworthy activity regarding Greek education in Britain was the establishment of a college for Greeks by Dr Woodroff (principal of Gloucester Hall, Oxford).

As Britain remained a distant and inhospitable land for Greeks, it was only after the outbreak of the Greek Revolution against the Ottoman Empire in 1821 that large-scale and coordinated emigration and settlement of Greeks in Britain took place, particularly in big cities such as London, Manchester and Liverpool. Here Greeks hoped to find opportunities to prosper in trading and shipping.[5]

After the Soho Greek church was destroyed by fire, the Greek community in London used the chapel of the Russian embassy for religious duties. In 1836 however, thanks to the efforts of Charilaos Trikoupis, who was the Greek Ambassador in London, the Church of the Saviour Jesus in London was established and the first fully organised Greek community in London.[6]

By the 1840s, the number of Greeks in London had increased so much that

the church became too small and humble for the prospering community. In 1849, a bigger and better church was built, again dedicated to the Saviour Jesus. That church served the community until 1879 when the Cathedral Church of the Divine Wisdom we know today in Bayswater was opened.

2. Second and third waves of immigration to Britain

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a financial crisis struck the thriving Greek communities in Britain, perhaps due to the Franco-Prussian war and changes in trade. Many businesses went bankrupt and others had to close and transfer their assets back to Greece. At the beginning of the twentieth century, prospects for the Greek communities in Britain were not bright.

The ethnic catastrophes of 1896 and 1922, together with the World War I, created new waves of immigrants to Britain. By the end of the Great War, new names and new fortunes were emerging in the maritime trade.[7]

Three Greek Orthodox churches in London, and one in Manchester,[8] gave the communities a focus to become stronger and continue their efforts to maintain their language, identity and culture.

What undoubtedly saved the Greek community in Britain was the massive immigration of young Cypriots from the 1930s onwards. Unlike emigrants from Greece, who preferred America as their destination, they chose Britain, particularly London as their new home.[9]

There have been two main peaks in Cypriot immigration to the UK, after 1955 (anti-colonial war) and 1974 (Turkish invasion). The census shows that by 1981, there were 212,000 immigrants of Greek origin in the UK. Some 200,000 were Greek-Cypriots while there were 12,000 from Greece.[10] Today the Cyprus High Commission estimates that there are about 290,000 Cypriots in the UK, of whom 77,436 were born in Cyprus.

The slow rate at which Greek community schools were established in London reflects the poverty of the initial waves of immigrants from Cyprus. Many of the immigrants arrived with very little money and no job or accommodation; however, three decades later the same people had prospered

in business and were able to take education into their own hands. From humble manual workers, they had become prosperous businessmen fully integrated into social and political life.[11]

In summary, the Greek community in Britain consists of two groups. The majority are immigrants from Cyprus, concentrated mainly in north London, and there is a smaller group originating in mainland Greece and the islands, based mainly in central London, who continue the tradition of the nineteenthth-century Greek community.[12]

3. The development of Greek communities in Britain

Apart from the 1677 establishment of the church of the Dormition of the Mother of God in Soho, which had been built with contributions from (among others) the Duke of York, later King James II, other attempts were soon made to set up communities and places of worship in the areas of central, north and south London. The next was a chapel in a Greek commercial office in London's Finsbury Circus, with a priest sent from Greece to serve there. By 1849, this church had become too small and a replacement was built at London Wall.

In the meantime, a chapel had also been opened in Manchester, which was soon to be replaced by the cathedral of the Annunciation, which is still in use today.

An important page in the history of Greek communities in Britain was turned when an Englishman, Stephen Georgeson Hatherly, was ordained priest in Constantinople in about 1870, being given the name Timothy. On returning to Britain he inaugurated in 1873 a Greek Seamen's Mission in Cardiff,[13] where a permanent church dedicated to Saint Nicolas of Myra, was built in the Byzantine style in 1905.

By 1865, Liverpool had also acquired its own church, also in the Byzantine style and also dedicated to St Nicolas.

In London, wealthy Greeks had moved to the healthier and more fashionable area of Hyde Park, and a new Byzantine-style church was opened in 1879 in Bayswater. This cathedral, which is dedicated to the Divine

Wisdom (*Agia Sofia*), has subsequently been beautifully adorned with icons and mosaics, and adopted as the archdiocese's cathedral in 1922. This activity continued with the opening in 1948 of the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of All Saints in Camden Town, an area where many Cypriot immigrants had settled since the 1930s.

The activity of buying properties and organizing Greek communities continued with the opening of the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of St Andrew in Kentish Town in 1957, while in 1962 another Greek Orthodox Cathedral, dedicated to the Nativity of the Mother of God was established in Camberwell, South London, and in 1965 the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Cross in Golders Green, North London.

During the 1970s the number of communities reached a new high. As the immigrants' financial status improved, they were able to buy more buildings and become more involved in setting up committees and to take the running of community affairs into their own hands. They ran their local church and Greek school and also organized other community groups to provide charitable services to the poor, sick and elderly.

Today, 114 Greek Orthodox communities in various parts of Britain are listed in the records of the Archdiocese,[14] but in London only 21 have more than two hundred members and their own Greek school, while in the rest of the country only sixteen are of a reasonable size.

4. Community organizations and Greek education

The history of Greek community organisations in Britain, including those involved in education, stretches back more than three centuries to the foundation of the first Greek church in London in 1677. Also in 1677, the idea of a Greek College in Oxford was conceived; this became a reality in 1698, but functioned only until 1705.

Apart from the communities mentioned earlier, various localised unions were established, such as the union of Peloponnesians, the union of Macedonians and the union of Paphians.

The establishment of the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain in

1922 became a landmark in the development and organization of the Greek community in Britain. The first archbishop was Germanos Strinopoulos, previously metropolitan of Seleucia, who had earlier been principal of the Theological School of Halki. This was an inspired choice, and his pastorate lasted for almost thirty years (1922-1951), during which time he became widely-known as a leading representative of Orthodoxy in this country and contributed greatly towards organizing the Greek immigrants in Britain into healthy and active communities.

His activities included various attempts to establish places of worship and education in Britain. During Archbishop Germanos' pastorate[15], communities were established in Birmingham (1939), Glasgow (1944), Camden Town in London (1948) and Bristol (1951).

By the time of the death of Archbishop Athenagoras I, the second archbishop of Thyateira in 1962, the diocese had grown to an almost unmanageable size. During his pastorate, he had been assisted by a total of five assistant bishops.

Immigration from Cyprus both in the 1950s and following the Turkish invasion of 1974 raised the population of the Greek communities to a new high, and many Greek Orthodox churches in Britain were founded during this period.[16] Around this time the *Orthodox Herald*, the official journal of the archdiocese, was established, along with a number of charity and educational organizations such as the Greek Orthodox Charity Organisation and the Central Educational Council.

The archdiocese now embraces 125 churches in the United Kingdom and Ireland, the majority of which possess their own places of worship. Due to the magnanimity of the Church of England, the communities have been able to acquire suitable premises, not only for places of worship, but also for schools and community centres, and this has invariably also involved great sacrifices and generosity on the part of the community members.

During its eighty-year history, the archdiocese has placed a special emphasis on education. It was involved in the establishment of the Hellenic College of London in Knightsbridge, which has an enviable academic record. In 2000 the archdiocese inaugurated St Cyprians, the first Orthodox primary day school in England, at Thornton Heath in south London.

Further to this, the archdiocese operates Greek afternoon and Saturday schools in almost all of its well-established communities. Finally, the archdiocese runs a flourishing school of Byzantine music based in Wood Green, north London.

Another important organisation is the Greek Cypriot Brotherhood, which was founded in 1934 by a cleric who was later to become Greek Orthodox Archbishop of America, Michael Constantinides.

The original name of this organisation was "The Christian Greek Cypriot Brotherhood of St. Barnabas". Its aim was to help the first Cypriot immigrants in London to overcome the difficulties they faced in the economic depression of the 1920s and 30s, which were compounded by their limited knowledge or total ignorance of the English language.

Through the efforts of its founder, contributions by the Greek community in Britain, and the co-operation of local government, a measure of welfare and tolerable conditions were achieved.[17] The constitution of the Brotherhood required its members to be "good and law abiding citizens" and dedicated to Christian teachings. It set up English classes for the community, and later, the first Greek schools to assist the younger generation in learning their mother tongue and heritage.

Following the Second World War, immigration from Cyprus increased substantially, but their circumstances this time were much improved. The Brotherhood therefore widened its aims to include cultural, sporting and social activities. Every year art exhibitions, conferences, youth events and lectures on various issues organised by the University of Cyprus, are frequently held in the premises of the Brotherhood, which serves as a cultural and spiritual centre bringing together members of the Greek community in Britain.

Another area of the Brotherhood's interests is the ongoing campaigns for the peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem and the unification of the island. Evolving with the times, the needs of the community and of Cyprus, it currently dedicates a great part of its resources to activities aimed at a fair solution of the island's problems created by the Turkish invasion of 1974.

Finally, a comment on the name of this organisation. The name *Brotherhood* is a noble word that, like many others, has lost its original

meaning and today may convey the wrong signals. It is not a secret society. At one point they considered a change of title, but as one member comments, a member of the British Parliament once asked about the matter of the mane, said "we receive dozens of invitations from associations, federations, leagues, it is so confusing. When we get one from the Brotherhood, we know who you are."

As the immigrant community continued to expand, the Greek Cypriot Immigrants Federation was set up in 1970 by the Cyprus High Commission.[18] An early aim of the federation was to assist Cyprus following the Turkish invasion in 1974, by targeting British public opinion concerning the injustice suffered by Cyprus and Greek and Turkish Cypriots. This has involved frequent rallies and peaceful protests outside the Turkish Embassy and in other parts of London. Moving with the times, the federation's circle of activities has expanded to address problems faced by immigrants repatriating and issues of interest by the continually-increasing Greek community in Britain.

The League of Greek Orthodox Communities of Great Britain was founded in 1978. This organisation is run mainly by the archdiocese of Thyateira and representatives from the various orthodox communities. Its main aim is to assist the orthodox communities all over Britain in their religious and educational activities. The president of the coordinating committee is the archbishop himself. Their work has included building new churches, establishing new schools as well as helping existing schools and churches.

More recently, a very significant development towards the better organisation of the Greek community in Britain, especially in the area of education, was the creation of the United Forum for Hellenic Education (UFHE) which was founded in 1988, after a long struggle and disagreements.[19]

Between the 1960s and 1980s, although more than a hundred Greek afternoon and Saturday schools were operating, with large numbers of children learning their language, history and traditions, the situation in the schools themselves, and between the parents' committees was not good. In the mid 1970s a fierce row broke out between the various groups in relation to education matters. Questions about the character of the community schools, and whether they should teach Greek history and culture or Cypriot

history and traditions, started to be openly discussed.

The disagreements and division lasted a long time, and had a devastating effect on the quality of the education itself. Instead of putting their efforts into improving the effectiveness of the schools, people were preoccupied with unnecessary concerns.

The problem was not helped by the existence of two educational missions – from Greece (established in 1980) and from Cyprus (started in 1977). Some schools refused to accept teachers from Greece with the excuse that children speaking the Cypriot dialect would not be able to understand them. Pressure was exerted on the Ministry of Education in Cyprus to increase the number of teachers seconded from Cyprus.

In the middle of this disunity, the Ministries of Education of Greece and of Cyprus together made efforts to bring the members of the Greek community together and reach an agreement to form a united forum for Greek education in this country. The United Forum for Hellenic Education became a reality in 1988 with only two individual schools refusing to join and which still operate outside it.

The Archbishop is the president of the forum, and in running the schools he is assisted by the Counsellors of the two Educational Missions (KEA and EEA) and the presidents of the three educational associations in Britain. These are the Central Education Council (KES), the Parents Association (OESEKA) and the Independent schools. KES runs all the church schools and OESEKA runs the schools organised by parents' committees, and the independent schools are run by trusts. With the establishment of the UFHE, educational matters in Britain started to improve, because of agreement on the principles, rules and issues regarding the provision of Greek education in this country.

5. Greek full-time schools in Britain

Initially, the only way for immigrants to offer Greek education to their children was through private home tuition. In the nineteenth century, however, Greeks in London and Manchester attempted to establish full-time Greek schools. The first such school became a reality in 1870 in London,

under the management of the distinguished teacher and scholar, Ioannis Valettas.[20]

The initiative was ambitious but did not last very long. In 1884, the school closed for the usual reasons, lack of funding and the reluctance of some parents to send their children to a school which might isolate them from British society.

It was about a hundred years later, in 1980, that with the financial help of some wealthy Greeks the community in London was able to open the prestigious Hellenic College in Knightsbridge. This school has remained open and offers nursery, primary and secondary education up to the age of 17.

For about a year after its opening, the Hellenic College was recognized by the Ministry of Education in Greece as a Greek state school and provided with teachers. This recognition was withdrawn on March 1, 1983, and the teachers were withdrawn. However, wealthy London-based Greeks decided to keep the school open, as it was important to them to provide Greek education for their children. It is now a private English rather than Greek school, which is bilingual to an extent because it teaches Greek and Greek Orthodox religious studies. The school today has about 150 students.

The Greek government then made plans to buy a new building and establish a new full-time Greek primary school, which would be recognized as a Greek state school because it would follow the curriculum of primary schools in Greece and also teach English as a second language.

This school became a reality in 1987, in west London. It now has about 100 pupils and is funded by the Greek government. The teaching staff are seconded from Greece, and its pupils are drawn from immigrant families and Greek families living temporarily in London.

In 1990, a building in north London was rented to house the Greek Secondary School of London, which operates under the same principles as the primary school. This school has about 60 pupils. In 2000, an English-Greek Orthodox denominational primary school was founded in south London. Funded by the British government, it is a recognized British state school. The school offers 20% of its teaching in Greek, including Religious Studies and Greek language, and has about 200 pupils, not all of Greek-Cypriot ethnic origin.

6. The first Greek Community Afternoon Schools in Britain

Community schools are open for a few hours in the evening or on weekends, and operate outside the normal education system.

The Greek community in Britain established its first community afternoon school as early as 1869 in Manchester, and a second school was established the following year in London.[21] However, it would not be until after the 1950s that an abundance of such schools flourished, not only in London but also in other major towns and cities such as Cardiff,[22] Liverpool and Birmingham.

In the early 1920s, Archimandrite Ilarion Vasdekas founded an afternoon and Saturday school at Agia Sophia cathedral in Bayswater, London. In 1924, an organisation named Hellenic Friends of Education in England was established in London, with the aim of supporting this school. The then Metropolitan of Thyateira, Germanos Strinopoulos, believed that this school could be strengthened and become an English-Greek full time college. This effort had to be abandoned due to lack of interest on the part of the Greek community in London. Greek education for children of Greeks in London was left to the Agia Sophia community school operating for two afternoons a week.

One of the first initiatives of the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain was to establish an afternoon or Saturday school on the premises of each Greek Orthodox Church in Britain. As the number of churches increased so did the number of schools. The Archdiocese, therefore, to organise and coordinate more effectively all these Greek Schools went a step further and established the Central Educational Council (KES) in 1964 with the aims of coordinating activities and planning for Greek community schools. In this task the Archdiocese found willing assistance and support from the Ministry of Education of Greece and the Ministry of Education of Cyprus.

The community school at Agia Sophia was followed in the late 1950s by a similar school established by the Greek Cypriot Brotherhood, and a third one by the Agioi Pantes Orthodox Church in Camden Town. About the same time another school was established in north London, this time not by the church but by the Greek Parents Association, which preferred to organise

their own community schools. This second group of schools was the work of the pioneer Cypriot poet Tefkros Anthias who was living in London at that time.[23]

In the schools of both groups, youngsters are taught reading, writing, Greek and Cypriot history, music and dancing. These subjects are intended to allow young people of Greek origin to maintain their language, identity and culture.

Today, there are more than a hundred Greek community schools in Britain, in which the Greek language and culture are taught to more than 6,000 pupils of Greek origin.[24]

7. UK educational policy for minority groups

The educational rights of cultural minorities first began to be recognized in the 1944 Education Act. The act acknowledged the existence of different religions in Britain and recognised the rights to cultural autonomy of minority groups. However, it was restricted to the area of religious education; language and other cultural aspects were ignored. Before the 1950s, therefore, it was accurate to describe British schools as monolingual and monocultural institutions.

From the mid-1950s onwards this practice was challenged by the substantial number of immigrants beginning to arrive in Britain. However it took a long period of assimilation and "dispersal" policies before the government realised that a different approach was needed to successfully address the problem of language education for immigrants.

In the 1960s discussion and criticism[25] of the existing provision for ethnic minority children in schools reached a point where it became clear that urgent measures were needed to find a constructive and appropriate language policy that would accommodate the needs of immigrant children. This led to one of the most significant developments in the history of language support in Britain — Section 11 of the Local Government Act of 1966. According to this, British schools with significant numbers of minority pupils had to facilitate the provision of these pupils' mother tongues during school hours, as well as offer them extra help to improve

their knowledge of English.

Since then, however, the conditions for support of minority languages in the educational system have declined.[26] From one generation to the next, the English language has naturally become dominant. In third generation immigrant families, there is nobody to speak Greek as a mother tongue to the next generation. The Greek community no longer qualifies as a minority group in state schools needing Section 11 support, and nobody would dispute the necessity and realism of this policy.

The possibility that pupils will lose all contact with the language and culture of their origins is created by a short-sighted policy in the foreign languages offered to them.[27] Schools commonly consider French, German and Spanish (all major languages) as possible options, and ignore the fact that in a multicultural, multilingual society, the most useful and important second or foreign language that ought to be offered to pupils is the language of their origin.

Greek pupils in particular, although second or third generation immigrants, generally still have family ties with Greece or Cyprus, so a knowledge of Greek language and culture is important for social purposes. In addition, there are wider employment opportunities[28] within businesses of the Greek community for school leavers who are able to speak both Greek and English.

Under these circumstances, the establishment of community afternoon schools offering Greek language teaching came to fill the gap created by the decline of Section 11. This, together with the priority given to EU languages by the British National Curriculum,[29] are seen by the Greek community as crucial to the future of the language.

8. Greek Community Afternoon Schools today

Since the first Greek community school was established in Manchester in 1869, the number of schools has increased and there are now about 70 in London and 40 in other parts of Britain. Many of these do not own buildings, but instead pay rent to use British schools (some local authorities offer use of the buildings free of charge). In this case, there is no opportunity

to display objects on the walls, use storage space, or take advantage of other facilities such as computers or videos.

About 5,300 pupils attend community schools in London, and about 1,300 attend schools in other parts of Britain.[30] It is estimated that there are between 22,000 and 30,000 children of Greek origin aged 6 to 15 living in Britain. Therefore, the biggest problem of Greek education in Britain is the small number of Greek origin children receiving it, as the majority do not attend community schools.

In the 1970s, those running community schools realized that they should offer further incentives to pupils to attend, and began to teach GCSE and A-level courses leading to the examinations of the University of London Assessment Council[31] (now called Edexcel). However, in 1992 the council announced that on financial grounds, it would reconsider offering Modern Greek; due to the low number of candidates, the costs of running the examinations were not covered by the fees. To lift this threat, the education ministries of Greece and Cyprus offered to meet some of the costs of providing the examinations. A number of community schools became examination centres and provided staff to conduct the examinations.

8.1 The objectives of Greek community schools

A recent law of the Greek Government [32] states the main objectives of the education offered to children of Greek origin abroad:

1. To cultivate and teach the Greek language.

– To promote the Greek cultural identity.

– To form the personality of Greek-origin children in a way which will promote their self-knowledge and self-confidence.

– To promote the particular cultural elements, traditions and history of Greek communities abroad, and to exploit these both in the host countries and in Greece through the educational system.

– To exploit the knowledge and experience of the Greek diaspora for the development of science, culture and education in Greece.

– To promote mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence and cooperation of individuals and groups of different origins and cultural traditions living in contemporary multicultural societies.

2. The education provided to children of Greek origin abroad aims to reinforce programs and types of Greek education which will correspond to the particular circumstances prevailing in each country, while being closely connected with the educational, psychological and cultural needs of the pupils of Greek origin and of the Greek diaspora in general.

This list is similar to the aims declared in the memoranda of the parents' associations in Britain which founded the community schools; these include:

- The maintenance of national identity.
- The transfer of Greek culture to future generations of children of Greek origin in Britain.
- To prevent the loss of Greek origins by assimilation into British culture.
- To prepare children to adjust to the Greek or Cypriot educational system if they return to live there.
- To strengthen the bonds with Greece and Cyprus.
- To function as a cultural centre for the community as a whole.

The results of research described later show that from the point of view of the teachers and pupils, there are two main aims:

- develop and maintain ethnic and cultural identity.
- learn the Modern Greek language to GCSE standard.

This multidimensional synthesis of aims (language, history, culture and religion) adds an increased level of difficulty in language teaching, because from the very early stages language is seen as the vehicle which must carry the load of all the other aims. Clearly, the need to accord with this synthesis of aims influences and constrains the design of materials is paramount in order to achieve progress in Greek language learning.

8.2 Organisation and administration of community schools

Community schools may be divided into three categories:

- Church schools — founded and administered by the Greek Orthodox church.
- Committee schools — found and administered by parents and linked together under a central parents association committee.
- Independent schools — belonging to independent trusts set up by parents and other individuals to promote Greek language and culture.

8.3 Teaching staff at community schools

By the end of the 1960s, the governments of Greece and Cyprus decided, after pressure from Archbishop Athenagoras Kokkinakis and representatives of the Parents Association to provide qualified teachers for Greek community schools in Britain.

A few years later the first groups of teachers were seconded from Greece and Cyprus to teach in the Community Schools in Britain.

By the early 1970s antagonism between the different types of community schools and division of opinion between their leaders created the rather strange situation where teachers from Greece were placed only in church schools and those from Cyprus only in committee schools. Instead of working together in unifying smaller schools to create bigger and hence more viable and effective units, those claiming concern for educating the younger generation of Greeks put their efforts in the direction of division and disagreement.

Although the Greek and Cypriot governments send qualified teachers to work in community schools, the numbers provided do not satisfy the need. A large number of individuals who have attended a training course but are otherwise unqualified are also employed as teachers.[33]

The two educational missions both from Greece and Cyprus still exist today. In 2005, the Greek Ministry of Education seconded 82 teachers to work in all types of Greek Schools in Britain. A number of them are priests and their duties, apart from teaching, include running the various Orthodox

churches in this country.[34] The Cypriot government in 2005 seconded 36 teachers from Cyprus, and in addition, the Cyprus Educational Mission employed 90 local people to fill in remaining vacancies in various Community schools. A problem with the local staff is that a number of them do not have a teaching background, but instead come from a variety of professions. In order to help the situation, UFHE established the Training Institute of London and offers seminars and training for those who wish to teach in the community schools.

Apart from the teachers mentioned above, the schools themselves employ some more local people to fill in the remaining teaching posts, whom they pay themselves. The school committees are responsible for these payments and the finances in general of the school, so the parents are charged fees for their children to attend. Most schools charge about £200 per child per year.

8.4 Structure and Operation of Community Schools

Most community schools have a sufficient number of pupils to set up the classes by age groups, as follows:

- Nursery: 3 - 4 years old
- Reception class: 4 - 5 years old
- A class (two years): 5 - 6 and 6 - 7 years old
- B class: 7 - 8 years old
- Γ class: 8 - 9 years old
- Δ class: 9 - 10 years old
- E class : 10 - 11 years old
- ΣΤ class : 11 - 12 years old
- GCSE 1 : 12 - 13 years old
- GCSE 2 : 13 - 14 years old
- A-level 1 : 14 - 15 years old
- A-level 2 : 15 - 16 years old
- A-level 3 : 16 - 17 years old

With this organization the pupils take GCSE and A-level examinations in Greek a year earlier than their other GCSE and A-level subjects. This is to avoid overloading them with too many examinations in one year.

The schools function throughout the school year and pupils usually attend twice a week for a total of four or five hours, either during weekday evenings or on Saturdays.

9. Programs of Study, Textbooks and Methodological Issues

Period of mother tongue teaching

In the first three decades after significant numbers of community schools were established in the 1950s, the programmes of study and materials were supplied by the Ministry of Education in Greece, and were identical to those used in Greece to teach language, history, geography and religion. At that time, these programmes of study and materials were suitable for pupils in the community schools, because the majority of pupils were first generation immigrants for whom Greek was naturally the first language.

Situation in the mid-1980s

During the 1980s community schools started to contain significant numbers of children from the second generation of immigrants. The results achieved gradually declined, an increasing number of pupils dropped out or moved from school to school, and there were problems of discipline. This triggered a debate about the suitability of programmes and materials, and in 1986 the Ministry of Education in Cyprus produced the first course and materials specifically designed for teaching Greek in the UK.

This course was still biased towards first generation immigrants, as the authors had not realised the extent to which Greek in the UK had moved along the language continuum away from being mother tongue (MT), and hence it was not successful. The course was modified in 1993 and a series of new coursebooks were sent from Cyprus to be used in schools. However, the modifications were not radical enough to reflect the movement in the language and the real needs of the learners.[35]

A second modification to the curriculum took place in 1997, which was followed by a change in policy towards materials. The new policy recognised that the language had moved away from being MT, and, apart from two small books on history and culture, abandoned the existing series of coursebooks. These were replaced by teaching material created by the

Pedagogical Institute of Greece to be used for foreign and second language teaching in community schools in the USA.

These spasmodic reactions were not sufficient to address the ongoing problem faced by the schools — the shift of the language from mother tongue to second and foreign language. This was accompanied by the corresponding change in pupils' needs. For example, one of the main reasons for pupils attending community schools is to pass the GCSE examination, yet neither the program nor the material met the requirements of the GCSE syllabus of the UK National Curriculum.

An examination of the 1986, 1993 and 1997 programs of study revealed the following characteristics:

- The content seemed irrelevant to pupils' needs and interests as only a few topics referred to the life and activities of the Greek community in Britain. The sociocultural aspects of the country of origin and country of residence did not appear as a united and interrelated whole.

- The programs of study were long in relation to the timetables and circumstances. The number of topics was too great to be covered in the 35 weeks that the schools operate. In fact, it was impossible to cover even the core of the language as presented in these programs.

- The structure and presentation of the various subjects seemed very complicated and overlapping. For example, the distinction between the technique of writing and writing itself, or the technique of reading and reading comprehension, are unnecessary divisions and raise questions about the degree of coherence between the parts.

Designing suitable materials for teaching Greek in community schools in Britain should take into account the syllabus for the Edexcel GCSE examination in Modern Greek, especially the revised one for the examinations from 2003 onwards.[36]

This syllabus revolves around five broad areas of experience:

1. House, home and daily routine,

2. At home and abroad,

3. Social activities, fitness and health,

4. Education, training and employment,

5. Media, entertainment and youth culture.

Each of these areas includes a number of sub-topics. The syllabus sets targets for each of the four skills — listening comprehension, speaking, reading and writing. It also offers lists with the Core Vocabulary, the Grammar and the Rubrics for the questions.

In general, this program of study has a simple and easy-to-use structure. The topics and content seem to interest the pupils as the units are within their range of experiences and interests, are attractive, and provide many opportunities to learn how to use the language in communicative situations.

The problems, however, described above with the 1986, 1993 and 1997 programs of study, and the fact that they were not designed according to the principles of second-language teaching and learning had a direct impact on their effectiveness in community schools in Britain. Year after year, one noticed a drift in pupils language abilities, while English becomes widely used even during class hours at the Greek school.

A new hope for education matters in the diaspora, however, appeared in 1997 when a large-scale EU funded program began operating under the aegis of the University of Crete with supervision by the Ministry of Education of Greece. The program was called *Paideia Omogenon* (Education for Greeks Abroad) and lasted for 8 years.[37] Its aim was to study the state of Greek language teaching in the diaspora and create appropriate teaching materials based on contemporary programs, both for Greek as a second language and Greek as a foreign language.

10. The *Paideia Omogenon* Program

The first attempt to investigate educational matters in community schools in Britain was made in 1968. At that time, the Central Education Council of the Diocese of Thyateira and Great Britain appointed a special committee to investigate the situation in the schools. The investigation was prompted the lower than expected number of pupils attending the schools. In a population of 250,000 immigrants, according to the 1958 census,[38] one

would expect at least 10,000 pupils to attend community schools; whereas, the number actually attending was around 5,000.

The second time that a team of academics and educationalists studied the situation in community schools in the Greek diaspora was within the framework of the *Paideia Omogenon* program, funded by the EU and the Ministry of Education of Greece and carried out by the University of Crete.

Up to that time, little information had been available, and what was available was outdated. The shift from first to second and third generation had meant that today's learner had little in common with the learner of previous decades.

In 1998, it was decided to conduct extensive research to obtain current and valid information about community schools, mainly because of the idiomorphic and complex situation which characterises the provision of Greek language teaching in the Britain.[39]

The research was carried out using questionnaires for pupils attending community and British schools. Closed and open questions were used to determine the pupils' relationship to the language, their opinions about materials and lessons, the difficulties they find with the language, and their attitude toward both the school and the language.

Supporting information about materials, methods and difficulties with the language was collected using questionnaires for teachers and parents. Interviews with teachers in community schools and in British schools where Greek is offered as a foreign language supplemented the questionnaires.

The working team also carried out language tests to determine the pupils' language abilities and form an idea about the actual effectiveness of the materials under investigation. The contents and level of the language tests were formulated in accordance with what the pupils were supposed to have learned by the end of the course.

Some important findings of that research are summarized below.

The research showed a fairly even distribution between the sexes (Boys 42.7% and Girls 57,3 %)

Regarding age distribution the following table shows how pupils tend to drop out after a few years at school. This makes it a priority to discover why the children leave the school.

Age Group	Classes	Percentage
5 - 7	A	40.7
8 - 10	B - Γ	22.1
11 - 12	E - ΣT	20.6
13 - 15	GCSE	14.3
16 -	A-level	2.3

This table also shows that the number of pupils decreases from class A to class E. The ΣT class is the preparation year for GCSE and a number of children join or rejoin at this stage in order to take the examination.

The research showed that 97% of the children had been born in the UK, with only 2% in Cyprus and 1% in Greece. About half of the parents had been born in the UK, and most of the rest in Cyprus:

UK	53.2%
Cyprus	40.8%
Greece	4.8%
Other	1.2%

In most cases, the partners in the marriage did not have the same place of birth.

These findings show that the majority of pupils are second or third generation. More than half of the pupils' parents were born in the UK, so their first language will be English.

The following table shows the parents' educational level:

Education	Percentage
Primary	7.8
Secondary	27.7
6th-form or equivalent	38.9
Higher education	25.6

The research into parents' occupation revealed that most pupils come from comfortable, secure homes. Their family backgrounds give no reason for slow progress in school.

Occupation	Percentage
Unskilled worker	5.3
Skilled worker	10.4
Clerical worker	28.2
Business	47.3
Professional	8.8

The results showed the priority given by pupils to passing examinations for college or university. This is one of the reasons for attending Greek school. The second main reason given is to learn to read and write. The connection they feel with their country is shown by their wish to learn more about Greece and Cyprus and to meet other Greeks or Cypriots. Although most pupils are second or third generation, they still feel Greek and wish to know about their origins. They are also interested in learning and maintaining the Greek culture and language and socialising with other Greek people.

Analyzing the responses to the open question in which the pupils were asked to write down three things they like about Greek school and three things they do not like, the most frequent answers revealed their dislike of the material and the work they do in class. It is surprising the degree of negative impact that materials and practices have on these pupils. These results offered us a strong indication of the cause of the problems faced by these schools.

The research showed that most pupils are fluent speakers of English, whereas little more than a third are fluent speakers of Greek. One should expect increased difficulty in their effort to learn Greek, and inevitably a lot of transfers between English and Greek. One should be open-minded about using English in the first stages to give explanations and instructions, and to introduce the pupils to the context of the Greek language. Efforts should be made to ensure the pupils are aware of the differences between the two languages using strategies of contrastive analysis.[40]

The pupils were given a list of difficulties and asked to rank them in order. This table is based on the first choices of the pupils:

Difficulty	Percentage
Writing essays	43
Understanding the texts	29
Spelling	17
Reading	5
Speaking	4
Understanding when spoken to	2

The three first difficulties are all related to inadequate teaching of vocabulary and grammar.

Attitude toward the Greek school

The pupils were asked whether or not they would recommend attending the Greek school to their friends and in each case to give the reason why.

Positive reason for recommending to attend	Percentage
Learning things	30.2
Meeting friends	9.3
It is pleasant	8.1
I like the school	7.0
I like the activities	1.2
Break time and food	1.2
The language is useful	1.9

This table indicates the pupils' positive attitude to the school as a learning environment and as a place to socialise with other children.

The negative reasons given for recommending friends not to attend were

Negative reason for recommending not to attend	Percentage
It is not pleasant	11.1
I dislike the school	6.7
The timetable	3.0
I dislike the school equipment	0.5
I dislike the teacher	0.2

The percentages do not add up to 100% as some pupils did not give a recommendation. More pupils thought the school was unpleasant than pleasant.

Learning Greek in British schools

Two thirds of the pupils stated that they would like to learn Greek at their British school. The main reasons given for this were:

Reason	Percentage
It is easier	17.0
The teaching is better	11.4
I am Greek so I must learn my language	10.6
I like the Greek language	10.3

The first two reasons indicate that the pupils prefer the approach to language teaching adopted at British schools, which treats the language as a foreign language and offers more assistance to the pupil.

11. Textbooks

Textbooks used in the 1990s for teaching Greek in Britain

In the 1998 research, the teaching materials were also investigated. This investigation showed that in Britain the most widely-used materials at the time were:

1 *Matheno Ellinika* series, Paidagogical Institute of Greece, OEDB, Athens 1989 (books 1 to 5).

This is the official Ministry of Education series, designed to teach pupils of Greek origin living in the USA. When the research was carried out it was widely used in nursery and primary school classes.

2 *Communicate in Greek*, K & F Arvanitakis, Athens 1990 (books 1 to 3).

3 *Greek Now*, D. Dimitra & M. Papachimona, Nostos Publications, Athens 1992 (books 1 to 3).

The last two series are by independent authors who created the material for teaching foreign students in Greece. Some of their units correspond to GCSE topics and so they were used to teach pupils taking the GCSE Exams.

Detailed examination of these materials revealed the following common

characteristics:

1 Although they state that their aim of teaching Greek as a second or foreign language they fail to substantiate this claim by following an appropriate design, one which in a principled way sequences and grades its items so as to correspond to the learners' needs in order to facilitate language learning. As mentioned earlier, the content largely failed to match the aims and objectives of the language programmes in Britain.

2 These materials did not cover the four language skills in a systematic way. There was a partiality in their approach towards practising the language across the four skills. They are not accompanied by audiovisual aids, and tend to orientate their activities and exercises exclusively towards practising reading comprehension (neglecting other reading subskills) and oral practice, while writing is limited and listening omitted altogether.

Speaking and reading comprehension are only a small part of the pupils' needs in order to learn the language. As our research revealed writing is a skill highly valued by learners — 40% state that the reason they attend school is to learn to read and write Greek. In addition, skills integration through the material results in a more interesting and natural learning process than material characterised by the monotony of practising dialogues and filling in blanks.

3 The methodology implied by the materials seems to be based entirely on whole-class teaching with very little group or pair work. In most cases, the materials are based on drilling and rote learning, despite some authors' claims to have adopted a communicative approach.[41]

The methodology used was an awkward combination of communicative characteristics and structural characteristics. There was no gradual and coherent process which would lead to fluency and accuracy. Methods and materials attempted to serve communication through boring topics and confusing presentation of grammar and syntax.

4 There is a predominance given to teaching the morphological aspect of the language, while syntax and phonology, intonation and punctuation are neglected. The materials emphasise accuracy through grammar at the expense of fluency through practice of language functions and an

awareness of appropriateness and style.

5 In order to use a language fluently, not only does one need to know the grammatico-syntactical system and have a sense of appropriateness according to the communicative situation, but one also needs a knowledge of the lexis of the language. Systematic teaching of vocabulary is therefore a necessary part of any language learning process. None of this material seems to teach the vocabulary in a systematic and efficient way.

6 The poor quality of layout and visuals makes the material unattractive for the pupils. There is very little use of pictures, diagrams, tables or authentic material. The main characteristics are extensive texts followed by exercises on reading comprehension and filling in the blanks (where very little space is provided for the learner to write). The coursebooks are not accompanied by peripheral material such as workbooks, picture books, glossaries, etc.

7 Most of the topics are uninteresting and far from the learners' everyday experiences and activities. The reading passages are unnatural and inauthentic.[42]

8 The coursebooks do not include assessment or self-assessment material. The only thing that we noticed in this direction was few pages of *Revision Exercises* every 5-7 units.

Materials and methods are closely interrelated.[43] Poor quality material need not inhibit a skilful teacher, but cannot help an average teacher — by definition, the majority of teachers found in community schools.

Textbooks used since 2000 for teaching Greek in Britain

Because of the popularity of the *Matheno Ellinika* series and because of the lack of any other proper series in the early 1990s, the Paidagogical Institute of Cyprus decided to spend money to adjust this material to the circumstances of community schools in Britain, and in agreement with the Paidagogical Institute of Greece they started modifications to this series. The full modified series is now printed in Cyprus every year and sent to be used in community schools in Britain.

This was unfortunate, because when in 2000 the new textbooks which had been created by the *Paideia Omogenon* program of the Ministry of Education of Greece started arriving from Crete, they did not attract the interest of the teachers in the community schools, who were generally happy and comfortable with the "new" old textbooks arriving from Cyprus.

This situation has still not changed. While the new materials from Greece are used as extra material, the main textbook is still the modified 'Matheno Ellinika' of 1989. This situation is not only a huge waste of resources and money, but also a lost opportunity for the pupils to benefit from this new high quality series, the result of eight years of hard work by the University of Crete and the various working teams all over the world (USA, Canada, Australia, Germany, Britain, Holland, South Africa, Argentina).

To understand and explain this unacceptable waste regarding the provision and use of the textbooks in Greek schools in Britain, one has to bear in mind that the existence of two separate educational missions, from Greece and from Cyprus, separately governed by their respective educational counsellors, often creates an atmosphere of doubt and even antagonism. Because of this, people seem to have failed to understand that the new series of textbooks produced by *Paideia Omogenon* is the official Greek Ministry of Education series for Greek schools abroad rather than just another set of books produced by the University of Crete. Additionally, the existence of another official series by the Ministry of Education of Cyprus further complicates the situation. The teachers of both missions should be offered more opportunities to learn about the new series and gain some insight into their aims and principles. Seminars and training for the new materials are essential, especially now that the series is complete.

12. Greek as a foreign language in mainstream British schools

An important development for the teaching of Greek language in Britain was the arrival of the National Curriculum (NC) in the autumn of 1992. In the NC's section for foreign languages provision in British schools, Greek, as an official EU languages, could be offered among the optional languages taught in schools, given sufficient demand.

Section 3(2)(b) of the Education Reform Act 1988 provides that a modern

foreign language specified in an Order made by the Secretary of State shall be one of the foundation subjects which comprise the NC. Such a language is to be studied by pupils in the third and fourth key stages (ages eleven to sixteen).

In November 1991 the Education (National Curriculum) (Modern Foreign Languages) Order specified those modern foreign languages which are eligible to be the National Curriculum's foundation subject (HMSO 1991). Schools are required to offer one or more of the official languages of the European Union (which were then Danish, Dutch, French, German, Modern Greek, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish), and in addition may offer one or more non-EU languages from a specified list [31].

However, in spite of the opportunity offered by the NC and the fact that in some boroughs such as Enfield and Barnet in London there are many pupils from Greek backgrounds (most of whom do not attend community schools), only one British school offers Greek as an option at the moment.

When Greek became an optional language within the NC, the Greek Embassy in London decided to make an effort to support its introduction at schools in boroughs with large Greek communities by offering to provide native Greek teachers free of charge. Unfortunately this effort was not successful mainly because pupils and parents lacked interest. Perhaps this is due to the fact that MFL teaching in Britain seems to be in decline. Every year fewer pupils choose a foreign language among their GCSEs options. They are happy with just the one compulsory language (French), and as for the language of their origin, they seem happy with what the community schools can offer, if they happen to attend.

However, as the research shows, many pupils of Greek origin are interested in studying Greek and taking the GCSE at the community schools, since this can count towards the minimum five GCSEs they are expected to achieve before they finish their secondary education.

In the last few years, however, the number of pupils attending community schools seems to be steadily declining, especially as the pupils progress through the classes. With few pupils reaching GCSE level, Edexcel considered withdrawing the examination on financial grounds.

These problems generated a debate about why pupils drop out, and

questions were raised about the appropriateness of materials and methods and about the need for further teacher training. It was then generally recognized that the main reason for this situation was a lack of awareness of the methodological principles necessary to approach the teaching of a second and foreign language. The second reason was the poor quality of the available material.

At the moment, the threat to the GCSE examination has been deferred, but the examination's long-term future will remain in doubt unless the number of pupils reaching GCSE level increases. This increase can only be achieved if changes are made to the methodology and material used in community schools, so as to sustain student motivation.

This change, however, does not seem to be easy. Greek is a minor language and, as such, rarely offered as a second or foreign language, so there has been little experience in this field. For languages such as Greek, I believe that a useful starting point for attacking these problems would be to combine insights drawn from studies and research in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) with the extensive experience and research[44] built up over the years from the teaching of English as a second and foreign language. Although the two languages have little in common, I believe that the theory and findings of ESL and SLA can help teachers of Greek build their own explicit theory.

If the decline in the position of Greek language teaching continues, young people of Greek origin will effectively be deprived of their right to learn their language and discover their cultural background.

13. Conclusion

As described above, supplementary language education suffers from a variety of problems (timetable, building facilities, equipment). It seems however that the greatest problem is a lack of understanding about the kind of language education that community schools should offer to their pupils[45].

Textbooks based on old-fashioned approaches, such as on drills or texts that revolve around topics which do not interest the young generation,[46] and which have little to do with the principles of second and foreign language acquisition, should be replaced as soon as possible![47]

Studying the new series of textbooks produced by *Paideia Omogenon*, one soon realizes the special qualities that this series has to offer. It includes material drawn from the experiences of Greek children living abroad. This alone makes the material interesting for the pupils. It is of paramount importance therefore that the modern series of textbooks produced by *Paideia Omogenon* should be adopted as soon as possible.

One of the biggest problems faced by community schools in Britain today is the steady decline in the number of children attending. Half of the pupils who register in the first class drop out after two or three years and only about a third of the original number reach GCSE. There is also a tendency for pupils to attend higher classes than the classes they attend in British schools. The large majority of the classes are mixed-ability and mixed-age classes. Again, it is obvious that important reasons for pupils dropping out are the methods and materials, which do not include aspects of differentiation and are of poor quality and unlike the materials the pupils are familiar with at British schools. One solution to this decline would be the introduction of Greek as a foreign language in more British schools with a significant number of pupils of Greek origin.

As for the community schools themselves, there are a number of factors which the pupils do not like; namely, the schools hours, the pressure of uninteresting hard work.

The vast majority of pupils were born in Britain, as were half of their parents. This confirms the fact that the schools have mainly third generation immigrants, with limited knowledge of the Greek language. Greek should therefore be seen as between a second and a foreign language. It is not a second language because it is not extensively used at home and in the environment; it is not a foreign language because the pupils have a sense of it and a significant amount of subconscious knowledge of and social contact with it.

Most of the families enjoy a good financial and social status, and the parents seem to be well-educated, although the majority are not fluent speakers of Greek and a significant proportion have only a very limited knowledge. The consequence of this is that the language is not heard at home and the pupils can have little help with their homework.

To address this problem of the different target groups in Greek schools

abroad, the *Paideia Omogenon* program created two different series of textbooks, one for the teaching of Greek as a second language for pupils who come to school with some knowledge of Greek and another series created on the principles of foreign language teaching, specifically for pupils with no or very little knowledge of Greek. In addition, to address the needs of pupils preparing for the GCSE examinations in Britain, the programme also created separate material aimed at secondary education groups sitting the exams.

What drives pupils to attend Greek community schools is mainly the wish to gain another GCSE certificate, to keep in contact with the language and culture, to learn how to speak and write, and to socialise. Their difficulties with the language are mainly with learning vocabulary and with writing activities.

As we have seen, the pupils start off with a positive attitude to school and come willing to learn. However, as they progress through the classes their positive attitude becomes more negative, and this is because of the materials and methods which they experience.

The pupils have difficulties in learning vocabulary, and the knowledge of grammar and syntax they display is significantly limited. Their achievement at the end of the course is very much below the level which would be expected from the syllabus.

The use of old-fashioned approaches seems to be widespread, with few teachers attempting new strategies, group work, project work and interactive processes in the classroom.[48] The teaching of grammar in a linear, structural way seems to take the majority of the time spent on language teaching.

The way ahead, therefore, calls for a radical change to the teaching programs, materials and methods used in community schools in Britain. Abandoning the old textbook series and adopting the new programs of study and textbooks created by *Paideia Omogenon* seem to be urgent steps, since these textbooks are the only ones available which succeed in putting the pupils and their lives, interests and needs at the centre of the learning experience in Greek community schools in Britain.

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Greek Education in the Republic of South Africa

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ABSTRACT

This article consists of two components. The first, based on the study *Greek Education in the Republic of South Africa,* was expounded upon by the South African working team and published by the University of Créte-EDIAMME, in 2003.

The second component is a study of the SAHETI School based on the personal experiences and association of the author with the school, as a teacher of Greek from 1975 on and as principal for the past ten years.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article comprend deux volets: le premier volet s`appuie sur l'étude *Education hellénophone en Afrique du Sud,* pubiée par l'EDIAMME-Université de Créte en 2003, alors que le second portant sur l`école SAHETI s`appuie sur l'expérience de l'auteur comme enseignante et directrice de cette école.

PART I

1.1 The Greek presence in the Republic of South Africa

The presence of Greeks in South Africa goes back to the middle of the nineteenth century, but there is very little official information about them. It is also problematic to determine the precise numbers in this country because no census has ever specifically counted them.

As is the case in other countries, the immigration of Greeks to South Africa was the direct result of the political, social and economic phenomena in Greece from the late nineteenth century until the 1970s. For example, when gold and diamonds were discovered in the Kimberley and Witwatersrand areas, the number of Greek immigrants increased. At the beginning of the twentieth century, immigrants were generally unskilled

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young men, some from the Congo, who worked in the mines. The salaries in the mines were very good at that time, so they aspired to work for a few years and return to Greece. In the Cape Province, the Greeks at that time were tradesmen or fish and fruit-sellers. In what was called then the Transvaal, they had small supermarkets which were called cafés. Because the majority of the shopowners were Greeks, it is not difficult to understand how a tradition was created where Greek meant tiroumtzis, derived from the word "tea room".

Many other jobs were created around these cafés such as carpenters, technicians, electricians and builders. Although the Greeks worked long, hard hours in these tearooms, which were the only shops which would be open until late at night, they were considered second-class citizens and were often victimized by the English and Afrikaaners. The tiroumtzi however, managed to educate his children, donate money for churches and schools and help his family back in Greece or Cyprus.

The time between the two World Wars saw the social and economic rise of Greeks. Immigration from Greece increased in the period from 1961 to 1970 because the strictness of immigration regulations was increased. Through DEME, a significant number of Greeks arrived in South Africa. They were specialized technicians or scientists. The population in South Africa was also increased by other Greeks who came from neighbouring African countries because of the political changes occurring there. The number of Greeks in South Africa from 1970 to 1990, reached 120,000. In the 1980s, immigration from Greece decreased. This may have been a direct result of the political situation in South Africa, sanctions, lack of foreign investments, devaluation of salaries, increasing inflation, instability, rising "terrorism" and international disapproval of the apartheid regime.

During the times of political upheaval, a massive exodus of Greeks as well as people of other nationalities occurred. Examples include the time following the demonstrations and riots in Soweto in 1976, following the declaration of a state of emergency in 1986, and, in 1994, straight after the first democratic elections. The younger Greeks emigrated to Australia, Canada and America, while the older ones returned to Greece. The number of people of Greek origin living in South Africa today is approximately 70,000.

Table 1: Immigrants and Visitors to South Africa: 1951-1960

	Immigrants	Visitors*
1951	111	76
1952	131	95
1953	115	62
1954	173	64
1955	234	54
1956	289	76
1957	266	26
1958	196	121
1959	235	89
1960	315	105
TOTAL	2,065	768

SOURCE: The Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Year Book 1964, Pretoria 1964, 19652

**A large number of Greeks who came to the country as tourists/visitors later submitted applications for permanent residence.*

Table 2: Immigrants and Visitors to South Africa: 1961 - 1970

	Immigrants	Visitors*
1961	694	146
1962	511	302
1963	1,207	350
1964	1,679	943
1965	1,740	1063
1966	1,507	731
1967	995	478
1968	1,071	265
1969	894	199
1970	492	173
TOTAL	10,790	4,650

SOURCE: Department of Statistics, South African Statistics 1970, 1974, Pretoria 1970, 19742

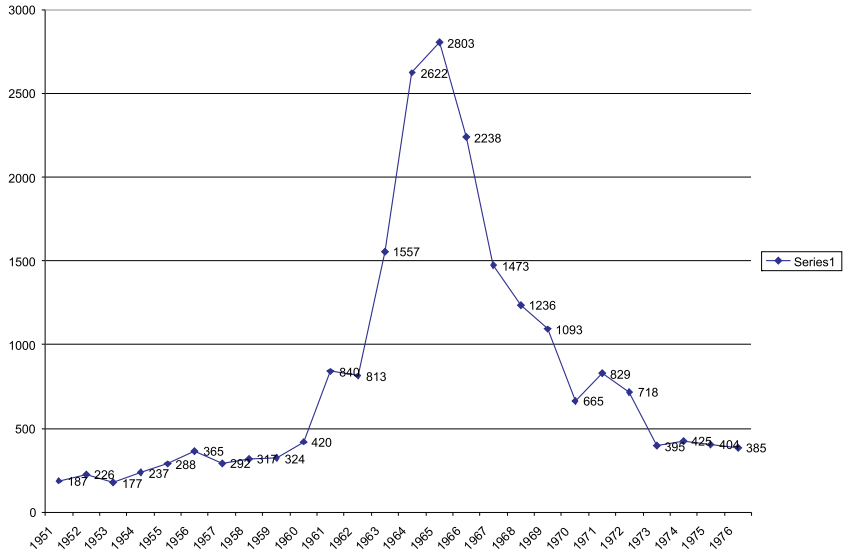
**A large number of Hellenes who came to the country as tourists/visitors later submitted applications for permanent residence.*

Table 3: Immigrants (1971-1976)

1971	829
1972	718
1973	395
1974	425
1975	404
1976	385
TOTAL	3,156

SOURCE: Department of Statistics, South African Statistics 1976, Pretoria 1976 [2]

Diagram 1: Development of Entry of Greeks into South Africa 1951-1976



SOURCE: As for TABLE 1, 2 and 3

1.2 The Hellenic Communities today

The development of the South African society during the twentieth century was influenced by the discrimination on the basis of colour. From 1948 onwards, political power in South Africa was in the hands of the nationalistic Afrikaaners who introduced legislated apartheid. The economic power of the country was in the hands of the English colonists/settlers. The official languages of the country were English and Afrikaans(a language with Dutch roots). From 1948 onwards, the emphasis remained on maintaining the segregation of the diverse ethnic groups in the country.

Needless to say, there was no equality among these ethnic groups. The Whites were the only privileged population, but even among them, there was discrimination. The Greeks were White, but not equal to Afrikaaner or English fellow citizens. For example, a minister of police, in the early 1970s, stated: "The Greeks are here under sufferance".

Under these circumstances, the maintenance/endurance of Greek identity was indirectly promoted by a state which was not in favour of assimilation. Nevertheless, the Greeks flourished and, today, are one of the most prosperous communities in the country. Using statistical research conducted for the study The Hellenic Education in South Africa, in 1998 and revised in 2003 we can draw some conclusions about the population of Greek origin in South Africa. Although the sample is small, it is representative.

Distribution of the Sample in Generations According to Pupils' Statements (number 1,115)

First-generation Greeks	9.2%
Second-generation Greeks	55.1%
Third-generation Greeks	34.4%
Fourth-generation Greeks	1.3%
TOTAL	100%

Ethnic Composition of the Families Sampled According to Pupils' Statements

Both parents Greek	75.1%
One parent Greek	24.9%
TOTAL	100%

Parents' Level of Education According to the Pupils' Statements

Primary School education	9,7%
Secondary School education	47,2%
Tertiary Education	43,1%
TOTAL	100%

There are a high number of distinguished Greek scientists, academics and businessmen in South Africa. The majority of Greeks live in the cities of Pretoria, Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban.

The Greeks belong to communities depending on where they live. The communities are responsible for the churches that they have built and for the afternoon schools. The umbrella of communities and associations is the called the Federation. The Greek Orthodox Church is under the auspices of the Patriarchate of Alexandria. Since 2001, the church has embarked progressively on missionary work among the Black population of the country.

1.3 Educational Institutions Offering Greek in South Africa

Greek education in South Africa is offered by

(a) the Greek community schools attended by children after they finish their daily school. In these schools, they are taught Greek language, history and religious instruction for six 45 minute periods per week. They use both the books that the Greek Ministry of Education publishes as well as the books that E.DIA.M.ME has produced. Generally, the children attending these schools are at an intermediate level, in other words, they understand

the language but have difficulty conversing.

According to the information supplied by the Office of the Educational Attaché in Johannesburg, there are ten Greek Community Schools in the Johannesburg area. One hundred and seventy pupils have been enrolled for the 2005 academic year in these schools.

One Greek Community School is also found in each of the following cities of South Africa:

- Pretoria - 79 pupils
- Durban - 81 pupils
- Port Elizabeth - 36 pupils
- Bloemfontein - 20 pupils
- East London - 21 pupils
- Welkom - 20 pupils
- Cape Town - 45 pupils

There are 22 seconded teachers teaching in these schools.

The Educational Attaché is responsible for the educational and administrative matters relating to the above schools and teachers.

Besides South Africa, other community schools in Ethiopia, Sudan, Zimbabwe, Congo, Nigeria, Zambia, Malawi and Tanzania fall under the jurisdiction of the same Educational Attaché.

(b) SAHETI is a day school where Greek is offered as a subject incorporated into the school's time table. Greek is taught on average, one hour per day and is enriched by the offering of Greek folk dance, classical Greek dance, music and drama. These are compulsory subjects in the primary school and become optional in the high school. Greek is offered at three levels: advanced, intermediate and ordinary. Children are allocated to different levels according to their level of proficiency. The teaching material used in the pre-primary school for language instruction is the series of E.DIA.M.ME *"I play and I learn".* In the primary school, we have introduced all the books published by the University of Crete (E.DIA.M.ME.) and these are gradually replacing the books of the Greek Ministry of Education as we

find them more relevant and appropriate for our learners, particularly since Greek is no longer a mother tongue for many of them.

In high school, we select literary pieces for the teaching of modern Greek and ancient Greek literature. We adjust, simplify or summarize books from Greece for the teaching of Greek history. At the lower levels, English is also used as a medium of instruction. The subject of Greek at SAHETI is assessed, examined and marked internally. It is recorded on the child's academic report along with the other subjects; parents are informed of their child's progress. In addition, children excelling in Greek receive awards at an annual prize ceremony.

The cultural subjects, as well as the cultural activities, which include theatre, cultural festivals, general knowledge quizzes, celebration of Greek national holidays, public speaking and debating, are part of the "Hellenic education" SAHETI offers.

At the end of the third year of senior school, students are examined and given a diploma by the school for their level of Greek. Some of the children of the advanced level, in the senior school, successfully write the examinations of the Centre of Greek Language, third and often fourth level.

(c) RAU University. Since 1984, RAU University has offered a four-year cycle of Greek studies as well as master degrees. The programme includes language, translation, literature, history and more recently, didactics was included.

1.4 The language issue in South Africa

All the schools in South Africa include two compulsory official languages in their curriculum. Every school chooses the first language, which then becomes not only a subject but the medium of instruction for all other subjects; and a second language, which is offered as a language subject. Up until 1994, the two official languages were English and Afrikaans. Since 1994, have been included the different languages that the native population speaks, with the result that there are eleven official languages.

For a student to be accepted into tertiary education, as well as to be

promoted from one grade to the next, the prerequisite is to pass the two official languages that the school offers.

The rest of the languages of the different ethnic groups living in South Africa, fall in the category of the third or foreign language.

Many of them are recognized and scholars can choose them as one of their examinable subjects for the entrance at the tertiary education. Greek was not one of these languages until the middle of 2004. The inclusion of Greek in the list of the foreign languages opens new horizons for the community. The first scholars who will write Greek in their final exam will be in the year 2008.

1.5 The teachers of Greek and the teaching material

In South Africa, the teachers involved with Greek education are:

1. Teachers in South Africa seconded by the Greek Government to the Greek schools.
2. Teachers who have qualified in Greece but permanently live in South Africa.
3. South African Greek teachers who have qualified at the Universities of Wits (until 1991) and RAU.

Mainly, teachers seconded by the Greek Government teach at the community afternoon schools.

At SAHETI, the number of seconded teachers has been reduced in favour of the other two categories. The reason for this is that the teachers from Greece are not qualified to teach Greek as a second or foreign language.

This is something that the Greek educational authorities need to consider, as a matter of priority, if the system of sending teachers to the schools of the diaspora is to be continued. In South Africa, in particular, the Greek population is not going to be renewed in the future and the Greek scholars will soon be third and fourth generation Greeks. If we want them to maintain their identity and language, we need to find ways to help them achieve this.

With Greek included in the subjects for the entrance examinations at tertiary levels, we have a greater responsibility and a greater role to play. We need to be able to teach Greek as a second or foreign language and also to find ways and means to promote our cultural identity not only among ourselves, but also among the other ethnic groups of South Africa.

The second aspect of concern is the suitability and relevance of the books that, to a great extent, have been used until now.

The fact is that in the market, there are many books for the learning of Greek as a foreign language, and fast as well, but in our opinion, there is no systematic work done and published, with the exception of that of the Programme "Paideia Omogenon".

For our community, it has become an imperative need to find solutions for the above two issues.

1.6 The future of Hellenes in South Africa

The democratization of South Africa has been established with "The New South African Constitution" which protects the rights of all the ethnic groups that live in this country as far as their identity, religion and language are concerned.

Some of the Hellenes in South Africa believed that the future here would be uncertain and therefore migrated to other countries after 1994. In the last two years, there has been a significant decline in the number of people emigrating and the return of some of the ones who had left. The fact is that this country, its economy and its society, are in a dynamic process.

The cost of living is still lower than that of the European countries and the comparison of South Africa to countries "suitable" for immigration comes out in its favour. The Hellenes here have bonded with the country, especially those who were born here.

South Africa remains a challenge. It is interesting to note that since 1994, children from multicultural marriages have appeared who attend the community schools or SAHETI.

On the other hand, the orientation towards the creation of one ethnos will influence the identity of third and fourth generation Hellenes. We need to reflect upon and determine what our position will be.

PART II

2.1 The case of SAHETI

I welcomed the request by Professor Damanakis to write about the "case of SAHETI" because it gave me the opportunity to embark on a journey: to trace, to recollect and to think consciously of certain truths, to explore and draw conclusions from experiences, in order to be able to explain what SAHETI is, what distinguishes it from other schools, what made it rise, the reasons for its success as a community school, because SAHETI has indeed a reputation, not only in South Africa, but in Greece as well and in other countries of the diaspora.

I am not certain if I will be able to explain all the above because I have been personally involved with SAHETI and its history since 1975, therefore, I cannot become a historian in this case. What I will describe are my own ideas, views and beliefs.

SAHETI is the only Hellenic day school in South Africa. It is a private school, it does not, however, have owner/s or shareholders, and it is an anonymous, non-profitable organization which belongs to the Hellenic Community at large. SAHETI is the culmination of a dream which has its roots in the early 1900's. But it was only in 1955 that the property, on which the school is built, was bought with the money that was collected. A morgen site 290 539 square metres, with water and electricity, east of Johannesburg, in an area called Senderwood, an area which was uninhabited at that time. The purchase was made by the then Board of SAHETI Governors, which was created as an autonomous governing body following the decision of the council of the community of Johannesburg in 1948. It was named "South African Hellenic Educational and Technical Institute". The word "SAHETI" is formed with the initial letters of the above words.

In 1969, Advocate George Bizos (personal friend of Nelson Mandela) was

appointed chairman of the governing body of SAHETI. A big campaign of fund-raising immediately began for the building of SAHETI School, which opened its doors in 1974 comprising of a Nursery School, a few primary school classes, 53 children, a few teachers and an English headmaster.

It grew in size, numbers and buildings very soon. It is admired today for its architectural design, the open spaces, its buildings and equipment, which, to a large extent, were made possible with the great donations of the SAHETI benefactors, who are individuals, Hellenes and others, and associations of the Hellenic Community.

The total number of scholars, who attend SAHETI School today, from Nursery to Senior High School, is approximately 900.

When one reads about SAHETI, one feels amazement and admiration, because so much has been accomplished in such a short time. When one visits SAHETI today and discovers what SAHETI offers, one feels proud to be a member of the community that created it. Advocate Bizos and his team aimed to build a school that would offer excellent academic education with Greek as part of that education. From the school's inception, Greek formed part of the school's daily timetable as a language subject, whilst the other subjects were taught in English. Furthermore, SAHETI opened its doors to anyone who wished to enter it, whatever their origin, on condition that they were taught Greek and respected the Greek tradition and cultural values of the School. This pioneering idea fell like thunder onto the Greek Community. Some were inspired and embraced it, others viewed it with disbelief (as a betrayal of the original idea of establishing the great school of the nation), although the saying "Hellenes are those who partake of Hellenic education" was spoken by a Greek. Consequently, the lesson of Greek language was offered, from the beginning, at different levels, depending on the pupils' proficiency in the Greek language, or lack thereof.

Despite all that, SAHETI materialized its goal to offer excellent education. The open plan system was introduced and the classrooms were built to serve this educational philosophy. Teachers were chosen carefully. New concepts in education were embraced and the Hellenic side of the school was nurtured and promoted with many cultural activities and functions, such as staging ancient Greek plays, Greek Dancing, Greek National Day Celebrations,

inviting artists and actors from overseas. The decade of the seventies and eighties presented many such opportunities. The Greek colour of the school became prominent. The school was visited by local and Greek educational and political authorities, students and professors from the Universities.

In 1977, SAHETI received an Award of Merit from the Institute of South African Architects. We dared to be different and this made a difference.

The school is child-centred and values orientated. Simply put, the focus is on the children. They are treated as individuals, they have a voice and they are taught the values that are founded in Greek philosophy, which are very relevant today. How?

Through every subject and activity; integrated studies, projects, prefect elections, student councils, debates, rhetorical contests.

"The Spirit of Hellenism belongs to the world at large. However, we, at SAHETI, feel that we have a special responsibility to nurture it among all who value it. We chose as our motto "Know Thyself" as we felt that the school should strive to impart on its graduates not only what man is, but what he might become". *(From G. Bizos' address entitled 'Not just another private school').*

SAHETI had to compete with established private schools that had a history of over a century. This was a challenge. Every school has its philosophy which is embodied in the school's emblem. SAHETI's emblem is "Know Thyself". Know Thyself is the starting point. The sky is the limit. We are not aware of the human potential until we reach self-awareness. Everyone at SAHETI is accepted for who he/she is and our duty as teachers, parents, governing body, is to help the child achieve 'self awareness' and build on it. SAHETI's scholars are happy. They feel that they belong to the SAHETI family. They care and stand up for each other. We have excellent academic results: 100% success in the entrance exams to tertiary education since 1997, which we very proudly advertise every year. Upon application, we do not select our children with reference to how well they perform in the entrance exams. We do not stream-line them and we do not focus on the academically strong to guarantee our results or distinctions. Our educational philosophy motivates our scholars who give of their best and, in turn, they bring us many trophies/awards in rhetoric, debating, singing, acting, inter-

school competitions as well as in sports.

SAHETI embarked on a journey without the necessary supplies. SAHETI was built gradually as the numbers increased. Large amounts of money were owed to the bank in the beginning. There were times that the Board had to pay salaries from their own pockets. In the community, there were individuals who could see the whole picture and others who wanted the school to be exclusively for Greeks and objected to the idea of subsidising the individuals who could not afford to pay the fees with rebates or bursaries, especially if they were Africans (natives). All this happened during the apartheid regime. There was also a clash between the Anglo-Saxon and Greek elements as to which one would prevail. Today, it is clear that *then* it was natural, but we could not comprehend it when we were living through those times.

Most of the teachers at the school, including the Headmaster, were English or Afrikaans. The Greek teachers were a minority. We viewed them as "foreigners" and they perceived us as a threat. We thought they would take over the school. Slowly, we learnt to come to an understanding and instead of control, we sought co-existence because this was essential for SAHETI's success. We were not a Greek school located in Greece, but abroad and although we wished to cultivate the Greek Spirit, the freedom of thought, the acceptance and respect of the individual, we needed the English experience and knowledge because we had to adhere to the educational system of South Africa.

I believe all this was part of the growing process. SAHETI was lucky because throughout those difficult times, we had leaders who were able to lead, to guide, to advise, to pacify and inspire others to follow. There were others who believed in the idea, but only appreciated its essence as it unfolded. Naturally, there were also those parents, community members, local teachers and seconded teachers who showed disbelief and withdrew. "It is an attitude" as Kavafi puts it. "You can understand it." This is happening at SAHETI even today. The child, the parent, the Greek teacher and the local teacher, the secretary, the Principal, the Head, the governing body, *everyone* who is involved with SAHETI, needs to understand and accept its ethos. If this happens, then they love the school and they join in. First comes acceptance and belonging. The moment you enter the school, you feel that you are in a different environment. It is not just the buildings, it is not just the children, and it is not just the people. It is everything put together. To belong to the SAHETI family, whoever you are, you do not have to

change your identity. If you are a Hellene in your soul, you will remain 100% a Hellene. Your views, your values, remain the same. But the way you perceive and interpret the things around you, become different. Your *modus operandi* changes when you understand the mentality of the people with whom you will interact or work, so that you can perform optimally. If you try to impose your ideas or change what SAHETI is, you fail and you become unhappy. You will perceive the friendliness of the children as rudeness; their freedom to express their opinion as a lack of respect or mutiny. From the moment you realise that you are not threatened, your patriotism becomes creative and it is not sterile or 'FOR GREEKS' only.

One should not think that we are the perfect school, or a school without problems. This is unrealistic. What has happened is that the educational philosophy of SAHETI: to prepare children for life; and its holistic approach, enriched with the "Hellenic education," has proved to be correct.

After thirty-two years, we have crystallized our goals and have learned from our mistakes. We were fortunate to have educationalists, principals and governors who believed in SAHETI and worked as a team.

What SAHETI is, is what is needed in the times we live, where "discoveries are made at an amazing speed, and where there is no time for the necessary human development"; we believe and promote the human element of teaching at SAHETI. We focus on relationships and values.

The fees at SAHETI cover the running expenses of the school. They range from R20 000 (3000€) in the Pre-school to R40 000 (6000€) in the Senior School.

2.2 What is SAHETI's vision for the future?

In South Africa, the Greek community is not one of the largest. The high crime rate, the social instability, the social developments in the South African community at large, the repatriation, emigration to other countries due to unsafe social conditions, are negative contributing factors. However, there are third and fourth generation Greeks who, as South African Greeks, play an important part in the financial, political, commercial and scientific sectors of the country in which they live. Many of them are graduates of

Greek community schools and of SAHETI and are conscious of their Greek identity. The Greek community is strong and dynamic. From the outset, it wanted to maintain the Greek language and religion and has done so successfully. Today, it is more fitting to talk about preserving identity where the language is one of its primary components.

At present, there are more Greek children enrolled at SAHETI who do not speak Greek. What will play an important role in upholding their Hellenism? Pure Greek or Greek education utilizing the language of the country of residence which to them is their mother tongue?

We are steering towards the second option as our experience at SAHETI has taught us three very important things:

i) The country of descent is perceived and treated as a work of art. What you carry away from this masterpiece is what is important to you.

ii) Your spirit, the strength of your roots strengthens you, but the passion for your heritage gives meaning to your existence.

iii) What makes us different from the thousands of people around us is the fact that we know where we belong. Perhaps we do not always like what we see but when everything around us falls apart; our heritage is the anchor which helps us to survive.

South African Greeks have proved themselves and have been accepted by the local community at large. The majority are well-educated, successful businessmen and professionals. Most of them speak Greek - some proficiently and others less proficiently. However, they are consciously Hellenes and make every effort to send their children to Greek schools and SAHETI. In other words, they are mindful of their Greek identity. And this is the foundation which we will safeguard and on which we will build. I believe in the role that the *"Greek School"* has played and will continue to play in this regard. I am certain of the role SAHETI has played in the Greek community of South Africa.

This is the type of school that should be established abroad - Greek - but not exclusively for Greeks, where children learn to exist as a big family accepting and acknowledging the particular aspects of each family member and are exposed to Greek education - ALL OF THEM: some to improve and

increase their knowledge with the hope that they will appreciate the value of Greek education; and those of Greek descent, to understand the worth of their Greek identity and heritage, and remain Hellenes.

This is what has been happening at SAHETI to date. The non-Greek parents choose SAHETI for their children because it is an excellent school and consider the offering of Greek as an enrichment subject that broadens their children's education. The Greek parents because it is an excellent school with Greek incorporated in the school's time table.

Our future plans are:

1. For the parents to enroll their children at SAHETI because (a) it offers "Hellinika" or Hellenic Studies, which no other school offers, and (b) because the ethos of SAHETI is different. What we will aim for in the future is to make the Hellenic component of our school the reason that Greeks and non-Greeks would choose and prefer SAHETI for the education of their children.

2. To increase the number of Greek scholars who cannot afford to pay fees, by embarking on a fund-raising campaign for this purpose. SAHETI has the capacity to accommodate another 200 pupils.

3. To repackage Modern Greek in the high school because Modern Greek is now recognized as a second additional language for the entrance exams in tertiary education. A curriculum focused on the Hellenic language, life and thought needs to be designed for those of our students who would prefer to follow a programme centred on Hellenic culture, philosophy, ancient and modern history as well as Modern Greek language.

4. To offer bridging courses to any students coming to SAHETI from other schools, to enable them to quickly and competently attain the level required of them for the option they will choose for the subject.

5. To become part of the greater network of international institutions concerned with sustaining the identity, language and culture of Hellenes abroad. That is, to collaborate with other Hellenic educational institutions world-wide to mutual benefit.

6. To continue our co-operation with the Centre of Intercultural and

Migration Studies E.DIA.M.ME. of the University of Crete. We find the books that have been produced to be of excellent value and we have introduced them all in our teaching curriculum. With regard to the new syllabi, we need to prepare for the High School, books such as "Keys of the Greek grammar"; "Historiodromies"; "Ellinika yiati ohi"; "Ellinika me tin parea mou", will be very useful. We hope that the University of Crete will continue the work it started and complete the High School educational material as well.

If it is true that "the purpose of education is to transform a creature of destiny to a creator of destiny", the ones who have partaken of the Hellenic education have an even greater responsibility and role to play towards the realization of this goal.

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Greek Education in Germany

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article sur l'éducation hellénophone en Allemagne illustre la particularité de celle-ci en comparaison avec ce qui se passe dans le reste de la diaspora grecque. Il examine, en effet, le contexte historique dans lequel s'est développé la dynamique de la création des écoles uniquement grecques qui suivent le curriculum du ministère hellénique de l'Éducation. En même temps cela pose le problème de l'intégration au sein de la société allemande étant donné qu'il n'est plus question pour la grande majorité des Grecs de ce pays de retourner en Grèce. Les auteurs de cet article mettent en évidence la connivence entre intérêts politiques et corporatistes qui empêchent l'adoption d'une politique qui favoriserait réellement l'éducation grecque en Allemagne, tout en permettant l'intégration harmonieuse des enfants d'origine grecque à la société allemande.

ABSTRACT

This article on Greek-language education in Germany illustrates how unique this community became in comparison with other diaspora centres. It first outlines the historical development of Greek-language education in Germany and the community dynamics which led to the establishment of Greek-only schools applying the curriculum of the Greek Ministry of Education. The authors analyse the historical context which permitted this unique development. This situation races the question of integration in German society because the majority of Greeks in this country do not intend to return to Greece. Overall, this thorough review of the history of Greek-language education in Germany highlights the role of politics and corporatist interests in educational policymaking. The result is the absence of an educational policy favouring Greek education and harmonious integration in the German society.

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Introduction

Greek-language education in Germany is a special case. It differs not only from education in the "Greek historical diaspora" and New World countries but also from Greek-language education in other European countries with a similar migration history. Greek communities in Germany present the following traits: markedly Greece-centred orientation, insistence on "pure" Greek-language education and noticeable Greek State involvement in Greek-language education in Germany.

The stance adopted by the Parent and Guardian Associations and Greek political parties, on the one hand, and the education policies of German governments, on the other, have led to the creation of two main forms of education for Greek children in Germany. While "Greek-only Schools"[1] following Greek curricula operate in many German cities, most pupils of Greek descent attend ordinary German classes (*Regelklassen*). Pupils at German schools are also able to attend the so-called mother-tongue classes[2], which generally operate in the afternoon.

Greek-Only Schools receive the greater part of both funding and attention from the Greek State in Greek-language education in Germany. The main focus of this study will thus be on those schools. Greek-language education in mother-tongue classes can be only of secondary interest here.

This study first outlines the historical development of Greek-language education in Germany and dynamics which led to the establishment of Greek-only schools. The results of two empirical studies are presented, with particular emphasis on the second, which was carried out in the 1998 school year, as a follow-up to the 1986 study.

1. The Greek presence in Germany after 1960

Although there were 1,510 Greeks working in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1958, the road to migration opened following the Greek-German agreement of March 30, 1960 and closed — partly — in November 1973, in the wake of a unilateral decision by the German government to ban the further entry of workers from non-EEC countries into the Federal Republic, in an attempt to deal with the oil crisis.

On the basis of the 1960 agreement, the Greek Ministry of Labour undertook to co-operate with the German committee, and to assist it by pre-selecting workers with regard to their "*physical and professional suitability*" (Article 7). The same article stipulated that would-be migrants "*whose criminal record includes a term of imprisonment exceeding three months*" should be excluded during pre-selection. Finally, one decisive selection criterion was the age limit, which did not generally exceed forty years. The German committee took the final decision on suitability, once it had submitted candidates to a thorough medical examination.

The conclusion to be drawn is that the agreement guaranteed the centre (Germany) the right to select the most active and productive workforce from the periphery. According to estimates, in the early 1960s, 80% of graduates from the various technical and professional schools in Athens migrated to Germany (Harbach 1976, 192), while over the period from 1960 to 1973, approximately 600,000 Greek citizens did likewise.

In parallel with this wave of emigration there, a trend of return migration began. The 600,000 Greeks were never all in Germany at the same time. In 1972, the number of Greek workers reached 270,000, and remained at approximately the same level for two years.

Table 1: Greeks in Germany 1967-2004*

1967	201,000	**1982**	300.800	**1991**	336,900
1969	271,000	**1984**	287,100	**1992**	345,200
1971	385,200	**1986**	278,500	**1995**	359,600
1973	407,600	**1988**	274,800	**1997**	363,200
1975	390,500	**1989**	293,600	**1999**	364,400
1977	328,500	**1990**	320,200	**2000**	365,400
				2004	316,000**

Sources: 1) Statistisches Bundesamt 1968 κ.ε. – www.destatis.de
2) www.bundesauslaenderbeauftragte.de/daten/index.stm

* *Figures rounded to hundreds.*
** *Figures include those with Greek citizenship.*

Greece's full accession to the EC in 1981 brought about significant changes to the *status quo* of Greek workers and their families, granting

freedom of movement between Greece and Germany and opportunities for self-employment in Germany.

The continued decline of the Greek population in Germany from 1974 until the late 1980's (*see* Table 1) created the false impression that developments would confirm the temporary residence status (*Provisorium*) of Greeks in Germany. Nevertheless, the advent of the 1990's overturned this position; in other words, the presence of Greeks in Germany is now a permanent state of affairs. Numbers have increased significantly over recent years, mainly on account of freedom of movement within the framework of the European Union.

The fact that the Greek presence in Germany is a permanent state of affairs emerges from data concerning date of birth and duration of residence. According to Federal Statistics Service data for 2004, 72.5% of the 316,000 Greeks in Germany were born there. Furthermore, over half of the population had been living in Germany for over twenty years.

We should stress that 16% of the sample in our 1998 study had been living in Germany for only six (6) years, while 42% of fathers and 45% of mothers in the same sample had been there for under ten (10) years, which is indicative of a "new migration"[3] from Greece to Germany. It goes without saying that this new migration is not comparable with that of the 1960s, given that the latter is occurring within the framework of the freedom of movement in the European Union.

1.1 Development of the student population

As can be seen in Table 2, in the early 1980s the number of Greek pupils at ordinary German schools exceeded 50,000. In contrast, by the late 1990s this figure had decreased to 33,000. The decrease stemmed not only from demographic changes, but also from the fact that a significant number of pupils transferred or enrolled from the start at the Greek-only Schools which had been established in the meantime.

Pupils at Greek-only Schools are not included in German statistics so the actual number of Greek pupils in Germany is greater than that reported. In recent years, the number of pupils attending German comprehensive and technical education hovered around 42,000, while those attending Greek-only primary and secondary schools number fluctuated between 6,000 and 7,000. The total number of Greek pupils attending primary and secondary

comprehensive and technical schools would come close to 50, 000.

According to statistics compiled by the Institute for Migrant and Intercultural Education (IPODE), in the 2002/3 school year there were 13 Greek pre-primary schools, 13 primary schools, 8 junior high schools and 15 senior high schools operating in Germany, with a total roll of 6, 377 pupils.

Table 2: Greek pupils at German comprehensive and technical schools (1980-2004)

Comprehensive Education			Technical Education			Total number of Greek pupils
Year	Total number of foreigners	Greeks	Year	Total number of foreigners	Greeks	
1980	638,301	50,776	**1980**	99,254	6,128	56,904
1981	698,495	52,366	**1981**	118,587	6,560	58,926
1982	724.804	51,718	**1982**	120,283	6,989	58,707
1983	714,221	48,368	**1983**	116,561	7,284	55,652
1984	667,589	44,521	**1984**	113,614	7,322	51,843
1985	667,200	41,495	**1985**	116,694	7,074	48,569
1986	684,473	38,612	**1986**	122,989	6,995	45,607
1987	707,503	37,398	**1987**	133,646	7,340	44,738
1988	737,207	37,534	**1988**	147,891	7,756	45,290
1989	760,259	38,024	**1989**	164,096	8,445	46,469
1990	779,662	37,063	**1990**	178,993	9,178	46,241
1991	799,875	37,347	**1991**	194,371	10,099	47,446
1992	837,014	37,404	**1992**	208,496	11,009	48,413
1993	866,218	36,196	**1993**	218,321	11,082	47,278
1994	887,150	35,505	**1994**	220,952	10,452	45,957
1995	913,238	34,787	**1995**	218,347	9,966	44,753
1996	941,103	34,351	**1996**	218,693	9,599	43,950
1997	950,707	33,562	**1997**	228,141	9,932	43,494
1998	936,693	31,520	**1998**	220,058	9,691	41,211
1999	946,300	33,149	**1999**	214,152	9,674	42,823
2002	995,718	33,628	**2002**	200,445	9,270	42,898
2003	961,381	33,564	**2003**	194,328	8,780	42,344
2004	962,835	33,760	**2004**	192,808	8,379	42,139

Sources: www.destatis.de
www.Bundesausländerbeauftragte.de/daten/index.stm

2. The historical development of Greek-language education in the Federal Republic of Germany

Education for Greek children was the most significant issue preoccupying Greeks in Germany; hence, the development of the matter also belongs to the history of Greeks in that country. In order to best trace the development of Greek-language education in Germany, we shall divide it into five periods.

First period: From the advent of migration in 1960 until the overthrow of democracy in Greece in 1967.

Second period: The seven-year dictatorship, 1967-1974.

Third period: From the fall of the dictatorship to the late 1970s

Fourth period: The 1980s

Fifth period: From the early 1990s to the present day.

2.1. First period: From the advent of migration in 1960 until the overthrow of democracy in Greece in 1967

The Education Agreement between the Kingdom of Greece and the Federal Republic of Germany (10-5-1956) obliged both countries not only to promote each other's language in their universities and other centres of learning, but also to take steps to fully re-open any pre-primary, primary or secondary schools which had been closed or restricted in operation[4].

In March 1960 (30.03.1960), the agreement regulating matters relevant to work by Greeks in what was then West Germany was signed between that country and the Kingdom of Greece[5].

One serious oversight was the absence of any reference to educational issues arising from the presence of Greek children in Germany. These issues arose early on, since the Greeks were not slow in bringing their families to the Federal Republic. In fact, studies report that in 1965, 40% of Greek men had their spouses and children with them, while by 1970 the percentage stood at 84%[6].

The first Greek migrants set their sights on an education system equivalent to that in Greece. At that time, their wish for Greek schools was intimately bound to their plans for residence in Germany, which first-generation

Greeks regarded as a temporary affair. With this in mind, they fought for a form of education conducive to their children's reintegration upon their imminent return.

Pressure by Greek parents led the Greek state to *ad hoc* measures to deal with the problem. Although by 1964 there were 40 Greek-language schools operating in Germany, they went no way to solve the problem of language teaching. Not only were they very few in number but also those that did exist were not fully operative.

In his study, Kladas reports only 25 of these 40 Greek-language schools, because, as he writes, the Greek Embassy did not possess a full inventory of the Greek schools operating in West Germany in 1964[7]. Convinced by personal experience and the reactions of the Greeks that the state of education for Greek children was far from "satisfactory", he suggested a number of steps that should be taken to improve matters[8].

On 14/15 May 1964, a decision by the Ministers of Education in the federal states required foreign children to attend German schools. The decision led to consternation among the Greeks, who were calling for Greek schools in the belief that they would soon return home. They reacted against the German measures, terming them "enforced assimilation"[9].

Far from backing down, the German authorities took more drastic measures under a May 1965 decision by the Federal State Education Ministers that foreign children should be integrated into German school classes.

The Greek newspapers of the time criticized the measures by the German Education Ministries (*To Vima*, 9-8-1966, *Avgi*, 9-8-1966, *Patris*, 18-4-1966, Ta Nea, 11-8-1966), while also stressing the need for "Greek education". The Greek embassy did not, however, seem to share the Greeks' concerns or views.

On March 23,1966, the Federation of Greek Communities in West Germany and West Berlin submitted a memorandum to the Greek ambassador, in which they set out their demands relating to the education of Greek children. They did so in the hope that the ambassador would mediate with the German authorities so as to forestall the integration of children into the German education system.

Nonetheless, the ambassador advised the Greeks to accept the measures, arguing that German schools were better than Greek ones. When the Greeks

refused to adopt his position, the ambassador stated quite categorically that there was no common ground for further discussion. The consequence of this was a conflict of opinions between the Greeks and the then representatives of the Greek State in Germany.

One way out of the Greek children's educational problem was provided by the first Greek private school, founded in Munich in August 1965 by the "King Otto of Greece" Educational Society. The Greek school in Nueremberg was founded along the same lines the following year, with the locally based Greek consulate as its patron.

The first Greek school in Munich owed its foundation to Konstantinos Kotsovilis. He succeeded by exploiting the connections of his father-in-law, a high-ranking Bavarian government official, and the friendly disposition of the Bavarians towards the Greeks. Added to this was the historical fact that following liberation from the Ottoman Empire, the first king of the Modern Greek State was Otto, a scion of the Bavarian royal family.

The school operated along the lines of Greek schools in Greece and funding was provided in full by the Bavarian government. It initially included a pre-primary school and classes 1-6, to which classes 7-9 were subsequently added. Attempts to run classes 10-12 did not come to fruition on account of the short period for which the school operated.

Although when founded the school gained wide acceptance, shortcomings in its operation forced Greek parents to turn to the consular authorities and seek their intervention to have it closed. Thus the school ceased operations at the end of the 1976-1977 academic year, and its pupils enrolled in the Greek-Only School which had been founded in the meantime by Greek consular authorities in Munich.

For all its operational shortcomings, the first Greek school had a positive impact on education for Greek children in Bavaria for two main reasons. First, it offered Greek-language education at a time when the Greek State had still not assumed due responsibility for matters concerning Greek children's education. Second, it laid the groundwork for the funding of Greek-language education by the Bavarian Government. In other words, acting on the precedent established by the funding of the aforementioned school, the Greek Government sought and gained 80% Bavarian funding for

classes 1-9 in the school it had itself established, as still applies to this day.

Bavaria remains the only Federal State providing 80% of the funding for Greek schools; in the other States, Greek-only schools are funded exclusively by the Greek Government.

On the other hand, it should be stressed that the foundation of Greek schools in Bavaria as early as the mid-1960s exercised a decisive influence on the educational aspirations of Greek families in other German States.

2.2. Second period, 1967-1974

As might be expected, the dictatorship made every effort to impose its ideology. Not even the Greek schools in what was then West Germany escaped this aim. Greek dictatorship governments regarded school as the ideal venue and vehicle not only for the propagation of their ideology among Greek children, but also for the "observation" of pupils' parents. They were thus keen to embrace Greek parents' demand for the establishment of Greek Schools. Within a short time, the dictatorship set up schools in the form of afternoon classes and organized education so as to suit its intentions. The Education Department in the Greek Embassy in Bonn was also set up during the dictatorship. Thus it was not concern for Greek workers that motivated the dictatorial regime to meet the Greeks' educational demands, but rather the desire to serve its own goals and aims.

On the other hand, the second period also witnessed a change in the Greeks' stance regarding the form of their children's education. The entrenchment of the dictatorship and, above all, its prolonged grip on power, forced democratically minded Greeks in Germany to rethink their position on residence in the country. After the rise of the dictatorship, even those who had previously been able to determine precisely when they would return realized that the decision was no longer in their own hands.

Democratically-minded Greeks, who had come to Germany for two or three years, were forced to stay seven more years. In the interval, some brought their families out and others started a family. The end result was a change in the relationship between the Greeks and their new social environment, as they became ever increasingly open towards it.

Whereas before the dictatorship the majority of Greeks had fought for a

school system which would facilitate or better still guarantee the reintegration of their children into the Greek education system, they later began to set their sights on a new system that took the new reality into account.

Without abandoning thoughts of return migration, a high proportion of Greeks saw the need for education which would assist their children in integrating into the new environment on the one hand, while fostering Greek language and culture, on the other.

2.3 Third period, 1974-1981

When the collapse of the dictatorship in 1974 occurred, the education problem in Germany remained. Rich in experience free of fear, and, above all, well organized the Greeks undertook to assert their right to participate in making decisions about their children's education. Experience had taught them that no goal can be attained without organization, so the first decisive step was thus the foundation of Parent and Guardian Associations on a German-wide level.

For Greeks in Germany, the period from 1974 to late 1981 was the most dynamic of all with regard to education. So as to best coordinate the efforts of Parent and Guardian Associations, acting on their own initiative and at personal expense, parents also set up Association Federations at State (*Land*) level.

Yet what were Greek parents' basic demands immediately after the fall of the dictatorship? We get a good idea from the five-page announcement (6-6-1975) issued by the Steering Committee of the Nordrhein - Westfalen Parent and Guardian Committees, in which proposals by Greek parents in the area are detailed in fourteen points. The basic ones are:

The creation of "autonomous" Greek classes from years 1-9;
Nine-year compulsory attendance;
Absorption of Greek classes into German schools;
Teaching of all lessons in the Greek language "The only exceptions can be for classes in handicrafts, drawing, music and PE, which may be taught in the German language";
Adaptation of material for Greek lessons to "the local environment";
Adaptation of teaching methods to the German system;
Proper preparation of Greek teachers working in Germany;
Close co-operation between Greek education authorities, teachers and Parents'

and Guardians' Committees;

Recognition of the parents' right to choose the education system for their children[10].

To achieve their aims, the Parent and Guardian Associations confronted both German and Greek authorities. They had no hesitation in organizing spirited protests and demonstrations in Düsseldorf, Munich, Wuppertal and elsewhere.

2.3.1 The demand for the foundation of Greek Schools

Together with German government education policy, which was highly assimilative in nature, migrant policy based on the guestworker (*Gastarbeiter*) rationale and Greek political circumstances strengthened the case for the foundation of Greek schools. The cause was not espoused by all Greeks, but it served the majority of them, for it was fertile ground for political exploitation.

For example, in supporting the foundation of Greek Schools, the up-and-coming Panhellenic Socialist Party (PASOK) attempted to rally as many Greek parents as possible around the party and "amongst other things, offer Greek parents the genuine potential to choose"[11]. In turn, other political parties also attempted to make use of the school issue, either to play opposition politics or to swell their ranks with those who either had reservations about the foundation of Greek schools or opposed the idea[12]. Regardless of motives, from the early 1980s onwards, each political group wished to found Greek schools and the issue was being debated throughout Germany.

At this point we should note that those who supported the foundation of Greek schools did not wish to impose them on all Greek children. Nevertheless, they regarded such schools as an alternative to incorporation into classes at German schools and, above all, as a guarantee that their children could gain access to tertiary education in Greece — the last of these matters will concern us below.

2.4 Fourth period: the 1980s

Greek-language education remained a problem in the 1980s, as is evident from the view of the Federation Greek Parents' and Guardians' Associations

and Committees in Nordrhein-Westfalen. In a letter dated 4/410/1982 to local associations and committees in Nordrhein-Westfalen, the Federation refers to the educational *status quo* of Greek children for the 1982-1983 school year, describing it as stagnant and in some cases retrogressive[13].

The same letter reveals that parents' morale was at a psychological low. What caused this unusual state of mind among parents? Had their children's education really changed so much for the worse that it justified such disappointment?

For years, parents in Nordrhein-Westfalen had fought first for short-term (2-year) and then long-term (4-year) preparatory classes. At a later stage, initially motivated by the fear, and later the certainty that all long-term preparatory classes would be abolished, they turned all their attention to the creation of Greek Schools.

At one point in the early 1980s, they came to realize that on the one hand, what they had achieved with the creation of preparatory classes had not lasted long. On the other, their dream of founding Greek schools was not materializing, despite the fact that the PASOK party, which had undertaken to found Greek Schools, had come to power in Greece.

The parents appear to have felt trapped, given that most members of Boards of the Parents Associations, the Greek Communities and their respective Federations were PASOK party members. This meant that they had no political interest in a confrontation with the new Greek government on the issue of education.

Nevertheless, the parents anticipated that the government would show due concern for education problems and provide solutions. They thus opted to wait the situation out, in the certainty that the government had no other option than to keep its promises. *"We have every right to believe that the new government of the country, whom the parents among others brought to power with their votes, will show due concern for our children's problem and will provide solutions which are in the national interest"*[14].

PASOK governments did ultimately keep their pre-election promises and commitments to a great extent, and in the 1982/83 school year they proceeded to found the first Greek-only primary and secondary schools, mainly in the state (*Land*) of Nordrhein-Westfalen, where one third of the

Greek population in Germany lives.

By the early 1980s, two basic forms of Greek-language education had emerged: a) attendance at ordinary German classes (Regelklassen), with simultaneous optional attendance at mother-tongue classes, and b) Greek-only primary and secondary schools.

Approximately 85% of pupils of Greek descent attend the first form of education, and the remaining 15% the second. Nevertheless, the Greek parents of the second group monopolize Greek government interest and absorb the greater part of funding provided by Greece for Greek-language education in Germany[15].

The fortunes of both Greek-only schools and mother-tongue classes were the subject of the two empirical studies mentioned in the introduction.

In what follows, selected results from the second study will be presented. These reveal both the course of Greek-language education in Germany, and its distinctive features when compared to its equivalent in other countries.

3. Greek Schools and Mother-Tongue Classes: Developments in the 1990s

In 1986, within the framework of an EU-Commission funded research project, an investigation was carried out into Greek-only schools and mother-tongue classes (MTCs) in the State of Nordrhein-Westfalen, Germany[16].

The aim of the 1986 study was to collect and evaluate empirical data relating to:

The conditions under which mother-tongue lessons were carried out (organization, administration, teaching and learning media etc.);
pupil attitude towards mother-tongue lessons (MTLs);
the use of one or the other or both languages (form of bilingualism);
particular problems faced by Greek migrant families and Greek teachers in relation to mother-tongue lessons.

The above study was repeated at the same schools in 1998, within the terms of the Education for Greeks Abroad project[17]. The same methods were

used, the main aim being to pinpoint any changes and developments occurring over the twelve-year intervening period, and to ascertain whether these had led to pupil integration into the German educational and socio-cultural system, together with a concomitant distancing from the Greek system.

The Greek-only schools included in both studies were those at Düsseldorf and Wuppertal.

The parent and pupil samples at the schools were as follows:

1986: Düsseldorf: 171 pupils, 155 parents, **Wuppertal:** 189 pupils, 111 parents.

1998: Düsseldorf: 162 pupils, 80 parents, **Wuppertal:** 151 pupils, 122 parents.

Questionnaires were completed by 356 pupils attending years 4-6 in 1986, and 74 pupils in 1998.

3.1. Outline presentation of key research findings

In summarizing the key findings of the follow-up study, the following can be argued[18]:

The 1990s saw a new wave of migration from Greece to major urban centers in Germany, resulting in an increase in the Greek population from 320 200 in 1990 to 365 400 in 2000 (*see* Table 1).

This tide of "new migrants"[19] and the concomitant renewal of the community differentiate Greek communities in German metropolises from those in other countries, and to a great extent assist in maintaining their initial features. On the other hand, children of "new migrants" are largely responsible for sustaining Greek-only Schools.

Developments taking place over the period from 1986 to 1998 and relating to parents concern the following main points:

- The percentage of "new migrant" parents at Greek-only Schools increased, and in 1998 lay between 42% (fathers) and 45% (mothers).

- In comparison with 1986, there was an observable improvement in the parents' educational level and professional status. In particular, the number of self-employed people increased considerably; in 1998 30% of fathers of pupils at Greek-only schools were self-employed, while 54% were company employees. Both of these professional categories have their sights firmly set on Greece (return migration) and regard residence in Germany as temporary, as was also true in 1986.

- Reasons leading parents to opt for Greek-Only Schools as their children's form of education were pragmatic or utilitarian, i.e. admission to Greek universities via special easy examinations under the provisions of Law 1351/1983 (Government Gazette 56A), which apply to Greek children graduating from Greek Schools abroad.

On the other hand, parents also make attempts to justify their choice on the ideological and cultural level. In particular, the arguments put forward by Greek School parents lie within the following frames of reference: intention to return migrate to Greece; maintenance of Greek identity and tradition; prevention of assimilation and estrangement from their children; prevention of any possible negative effects of bilingualism on children.

Yet the most significant and unforeseen development taking place between 1986 and 1998 relates to parents and pupils at Greek Schools alike: this was the creation of "*parallel communities*" which rally around the Greek Schools in a symbiotic relationship.

The main features of these "parallel communities" may be summarized as follows:

They rally around Greek Schools, which are isolated from the German socio-political milieu and are funded in full by Greece, the country of origin. The "*parallel communities*" in one city interconnect with their counterparts in neighbouring cities or states to create *local* and *inter-local* networks, which serve mainly as interest networks. These *local inter-local networks* then link up with politicians and institutions in Greece to create *supra-local networks* acting in the main as political lobbies. In order to legitimize their presence and activities, they create an ideology revolving around the formation of Greek identity and consciousness, and protection of the younger generation from assimilation into the host society, with resultant estrangement from the

Greek language and culture.

Among other things, this unforeseen development is evident from the fact that between 1986 and 1998, there was a significant increase rather than a decrease in the use of Greek as the pupils' exclusive code of communication, both between themselves and with their parents, while German receded in the "*parallel communities*".

In the case of pupils attending mother-tongue classes, developments with regard to linguistic behaviour have occurred in precisely the opposite direction. Greek is receding as the exclusive code of communication, giving way to German.

There was also significant drop in the percentage of those attending mother-tongue classes. In 1998, half of all integrated pupils went to such classes, whereas in 1986 the proportion was 65-70%.

Nevertheless, a significant improvement in school integration was observed among those pupils attending German high schools. Although not on a par with their German counterparts, in 1998 the percentage of Greek pupils gaining the high school leaving certificate (*Abitur*) which leads to university education was relatively satisfactory, and stood above the average of other foreign students[20]. More recent studies[21] have shown that the percentage of Greek-origin pupils studying at German schools and gaining admission to German universities is just as high or even higher than that of German pupils.

If we compare the two groups of pupils in our sample (those at Greek Schools and those at mother-tongue classes) with regard to their migration and school background, their linguistic behaviour and their orientation, and if we then draw up the differences between them, we can arrive at the following conclusions:
A considerable proportion of pupils at Greek Schools are children of "new migrants". From the outset they only attend Greek Schools; as a rule they communicate in Greek, and only secondly in both languages. They are strongly attached to their communities and have their sights firmly set on return migration to Greece. In contrast, pupils at mother-tongue classes are as a rule "born and bred" in Germany and attend German schools. As a rule they communicate either in both languages or solely in German, and do not

have their sights set on return migration to Greece. Nevertheless, far from being cut off or estranged from their community, they maintain powerful, positive sentimental ties to Greece and everything Greek.

Comparative analysis of the two pupil groups thus reveals that there is one student population (mother-tongue class attendants) which moves between two education and socio-cultural systems – and which in that sense has an intercultural outlook. On the other hand, we have another student population which rallies around Greek-only Schools, entrenched in the Greek "*parallel communities*" now being formed.

The creation of "*parallel communities*" is a new phenomenon, which is discussed in part by Damanakis in the present volume.

4. Conclusions

In sum, the evaluation of Greek-language education in Germany leads to a number of general conclusions with regard to the phenomenon itself and the socio-economic, political and cultural framework within which it occurs.

In combination with migrant and education policies on Germany's part, the historical course of Greek migration to Germany and the fact that the majority of Greek migrants in the 1960s were workers, both played an important role in Greek-language education issues.

The above analyses reveal that Greek-language education in Germany lies between two extremes. On the one hand, there are the Greek Schools, which are to a great extent isolated from the German socio-cultural environment, and on the other, there is the normal German education system.

This dichotomy finds its equivalent within Greek communities. On the one hand, these are composed of a majority of Greeks, who are integrated into German society and are striving for social advancement for themselves and their children within that system. Yet on the other hand, there is a minority of Greeks who rally around Greek-Only Schools, have their sights firmly set on Greece and look to that country to solve any educational problems their children may have.

This small yet vocal – if not aggressive – group of Greeks has managed to

monopolize the interest of Greek governments, and absorb the greater part of funds provided by Greece for Greek-language education in Germany. The peculiar relationship between the above group and both Greek governments and political parties is deeply political in nature. It can only be interpreted using categories applied in political analysis, though that is not attempted in the present brief study.

ENDNOTES

1. Greek-only schools are those operating under the auspices of the Greek State, which follow Greek curricula and award Greek (Greece-based) academic qualifications. The main feature of these schools is that leavers have the right to gain admission to Greek universities via special (concessionary) examinations. To be precise, 4% of the total number of university places is reserved for graduates from such high schools.

2. Mother-tongue classes generally operate in the afternoon or on Saturdays. They are aimed at pupils of Greek descent who attend German schools and wish to be taught Greek in parallel.

3. New migrants are those who have been residents in Germany for less than ten years.

4. A chronology of the school problem is given in *Stathmos – Periodiko gia tous Ellines sti Germania*, issue 2, special edition, Frankfurt, February 1979.

5. Kladas, Sokratis: *Ta themata ton en Ditiki Germania Ellinon Ergaton*, Athens 1965, pp. 66ff.

6. Matzouranes Georgios: *Ellines ergates sti Germania* (*Gastarbeiter*), 2nd ed., Athens 1974, p. 219. Bingemer, Karl: Soziale Situation der Gastarbeiter, das Heim: Jugend und Kinder. In: Bingemer Karl/Meistermann-Seeger Edeltrud/Neubert Edgar (ed.): Leben als Gastarbeiter Geglückte und Missglückte Integration. Opladen 1972Ç, p. 59.

7. Kladas, op. cit., p. 42.

8. Among other things, Kladas proposes that: "a. Existing schools be given further support and at least fifteen new ones should be founded; b. An Education Inspector

should be appointed to the Embassy in Bonn; c. Negotiations should be initiated with the German Government to settle issues relating to schools, so that they be accredited. At the present time pupils have withdrawn from German schools and only attend Greek ones, which are not accredited; d. As soon as possible, the schools should be equipped with textbooks from Greece." (Kladas, op. Cit., pp. 42-43).

9. On this issue see Kanavakis, Michael: Griechische Schulinitiativen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Eine Untersuchung über die Entstehungsgründe und – bedingungen sowie über die pädagogischen Motive griechischer Auswanderer, Frankfurt/M. 1989, p. 95. Tsiakalos, Georgios: *I istoria tou scholikou provlimatos sti D. Germania*. In: *Provlimatismoi* 1/83, pp. 64-69.

10. Kanavakis: *«Piges»* vol. 1, pp. 363-371. The «Piges» series is edited by Kanavakis, and consists of 9 volumes containing primary information. See Kanavakis Michael (ed.): ΠΗΓΕΣ-Quellen zur griechischen Schulinitiativen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Vols. 1-5, Peter Lang, Frankfurt 1989 Kanavakis Michael (ed.): ΠΗΓΕΣ-Quellen zur griechischen Schulinitiativen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, vols. 6-9, Ioannina 1993 (vol. 6) 1995 (vol. 7), 1998 (vols. 8 and 9).

11. PASOK party Prefectural Committee in West Germany and West Berlin. School Question Working Party: PASOK Education Policy in FRG and West Berlin, in: Kanavakis: *«Piges»*, vol. 1, pp. 136-187, this reference p. 140.

12. Democratic Unity. "School ghettos make problems worse rather than solving them. Realistic proposals on the education of Greeks living abroad, in: Kanavakis: «*Piges*», vol. 6, pp. 101-102.

13. Kanavakis: «*Piges*», vol. 8, pp. 116-118.

14. Steering Committee of the Nordrhein-Westfalen Parents' and Guardians' Association, Bonn 4.11.1981: To Minister of Education Verivakis, in: Kanavakis: «*Piges*», vol. 8, pp. 74-76.

15. For a more in-depth, thorough study of the education policies adopted by PASOK and New Democracy Governments in the 1970s and 1980s, see Michelakaki, Theodosia: *Greek Education Policy for Greek Migrant Children in Germany (1975-85), E.DIA.M.M.E, Rethymnon 2001*. Michelakaki examines Greek education policy for Greek migrant children from 1975 to 1985, highlighting the powers which shaped that policy and the ulterior motives it served. The study in question is interesting in that the author attempts to analyze efforts by one sovereign state to intervene in the educational affairs of another.

16. The results of the study are published in the Annual Academic Review (Epistimoniki Epetirida) of the Primary School Education Department, University

of Ioannina, issue 1, 1987.

17. A detailed presentation of the "Education for Greeks Abroad" project is given by D. Kontogianni in the present volume.

18. The results of the second, follow-up study were published as part of the Education for Greeks Abroad project as Damanakis, Michael*: Greek Schools and Mother-tongue Classes in Germany (1986-1998) E.DIA.M.ME, Rethymnon 2003* - see also www.uoc.gr/diaspora. (studies on a country-by-country basis).

19. Readers are reminded that "new migrant" is used to describe those residents in Germany for less than 10 years.

20. In particular, 29.6% of Germans, 18.25% of Greeks and 11.9% of the total number of foreign students graduating from the 13th (final) year of Senior School in 1997 gained the High School Leaving Certificate (Abitur).

21. In a study by Kristen, C. and Granato, N. published in the Institut für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien Universität Osnabrück periodical (see IMIS-Beitrage 23/2004 pp. 123 ff.), 46% of Greek-origin pupils aged 18 are reported as being successful enough at school to gain admission to German universities, compared to 43% of their German peers. In our opinion, the extent to which success at school by Greek-origin pupils is a stable, enduring phenomenon — as argued from time to time by German researchers — remains the subject of further investigation.

Greek Education in the Countries of the Former Soviet Union

Anna Chatzipanagiotidi*

RÉSUMÉ

La tradition de l'éducation grecque dans l'Ex-Union Soviétique reflète l'histoire de la région. L'auteur brosse un portrait des communautés helléniques dans cette partie du monde depuis la fondation de leurs écoles jusqu'aux changements politiques effectués et constatés au vingtième siècle. L'article s'achève avec une description de l'influence du programme grec *Paideia Omogenon* sur l'enseignement de la langue dans les communautés côtières de la Mer Noire.

ABSTRACT

The tradition of Greek education in the Former Soviet Union reflects the history of the region. The author provides a portrait of the Hellenic communities in this part of the world from the foundation of their schools to the political changes seen in the twentieth century. The article concludes with a description of the influence of the Greek program Παιδεία Ομογενών on language teaching in the coastal communities of the Black Sea.

Introduction

The first contact of Greeks with the Black Sea region and Euxine Pontus, in general, is related to myth, as borne out by traditional legendary heroes such as Prometheus, Jason, Iphigenia, Phryxus, Hella, Aetes. Based on evidence provided by Strabo, historians also acknowledge the mid-eighth up to sixth century BC as the period during which these areas were first colonized by Greeks.[1]

Greek colonies were founded for the apparent reasons of fishing grounds, fertile lands and mineral products, e.g., copper, coal, iron, manganese, zinc and gold.[2]

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Hence the phrase:

"led from far away in Alybe, where is the birthplace of silver."[3]

More than 75 Greek colonies, established all over the Euxine Sea,[4] contributed actively and substantially to the economic and cultural life of the wider region.

1. Greek schools in Russia from the revolution to now

At the beginning of the 20th century almost 700,000 Greeks, along with the other minority nationalities living in Russia, suffered the consequences of Pan-Slavism. The latter, based on the logic of *Homo Sovieticus*,[5] was opposed to the establishment of schools in which basic courses would be taught in minority languages, including Greek.

Greeks resisted this Russian policy of assimilation by organizing a powerful educational movement and staging demonstrations and strikes with the aim of establishing or, in a few cases, maintaining already existing Greek schools.[6]

In retrospect, we see that from the first moment of their settlement Greeks, after the destruction of Trapezounta in 1461,[7] tried to organize themselves around the church, based on their national identity. The fact that they shared the same Orthodox religion allowed for the establishment of churches, communities and schools which played a determining role in the economic life of the inhabitants.

Already from the 16th century, the Greek language was taught in Moscow along with Greek civilization. In 1594, Tsar Theodore established the Greek-Slavic School,[8] and in 1619 a Greek-Italian school was founded in the monastery of Tsouda which later, in 1681, became an Academy.[9]

In the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries the scholar-cleric Evangelos Voulgaris and the Archbishop of Slavenio and Chersona established the Greek High School of St. Petersburg (1775), the Greek High School of Chersona (1783) and the seminary where Psalidas, Mavrokordatos, Psycharis and other Greek intellectuals received their education.[10]

During the first post-revolutionary years (1917-1918), two drastic changes were needed for the Greeks of Russia concerning the unhindered functioning of their communities, and thus the consolidation of their rights, as well as the enhancement of the Greek character of their children's education. Within the framework of their authority we also find the introduction of free and compulsory primary education along with the «nationalization» of schools.

There were two levels of studies offered by the Greek educational system being under reorganisation: primary (8 years- two cycles of four years each) and secondary.

Despite limited possibilities and restrictions, the members of the Central Council of the Russian Greeks Association managed to satisfy teaching needs by hiring Greek scholars, mostly refugees from Turkey and Romania.

On the eve of the First World War there were approximately 100 schools attended by 50.000 Greek children in the broader region of the Soviet Union.

There were two basic courses in the curriculum of these schools:

1. Greek language (modern Greek)

2. Marxist theory

The determination of the official language in Greek schools was especially problematic,[11] since there were the purists, the Demoticists and the promoters of dialects (Pontic and Romaic) claiming and seeking acknowledgement as official teaching languages. A Tower of Babel prevailed among teachers, too.[12] Out of almost 300 teachers, only 20 had a sufficient knowledge of Modern Greek. The rest used a mixture of Russian-Pontic-Romaic-purist Greek. In order to resolve this problem the Central Committee of the Modern Alphabet was founded with the aim of coordinating dialogue among educators.[13] After long discussions they all agreed (in 1926 and certified in 1934) that Modern Greek would be the official language of education. The Greek alphabet was reduced from 24 to 20 letters, containing 5 vowels (α, ε, ι, ο, υ) and 15 consonants (β, γ, δ, ζ, θ, κ, λ, μ, ν, π, ϱ, σ, τ, φ, χ). This change was aimed at simplifying spelling which created serious problems in the use of written speech.

Many Greeks who remained ideologically loyal to the traditional Greek education resorted to the pursuit of personal tutors for private courses which resulted in the blossoming of non-official "secret schools". The latter were undoubtedly characterized by an intensely nationalistic spirit stigmatized by scholars and men of letters of that period.

Apart from public there were also community-run private schools which operated with the support of funds raised by expatriates.

The "General Association Meeting" in Rostov in 1926 accepted the new educational models and proposals while imposing the gradual nationalization of community schools. Furthermore, the 1926 reform established the first cycle of studies of seven years' duration and the second one of three years' duration. It promoted the ten-year education syllabus and specified the following elementary school courses: mathematics, music, language (mother tongue), literature, natural history, geography, physical education and painting.

Great importance was attributed to the ideology emerging from the teaching of the history of the Revolution, civil war and victory of the Bolsheviks. Young people joined political parties, pioneer orders and the Comsomol… These organizations were part of an attempt to alienate youth from the national and traditional practices of their families. Nevertheless, many Greeks resisted, maintaining their customs against the class enemy.

The period from 1917 to 1937 can be considered the golden age of Hellenism in the USSR,[14] since Greek schools existed everywhere, as well as theatres, publishing houses, and printshops. Greeks had the opportunity to study and develop their cultural traditions. The publishing house called "Communist" in Rostov was responsible for the publishing of Greek schoolbooks.[15]

At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, Greek schools operated in most Russian communities.[16] Anapa, Novorosisk, Gelentzik, Ekaterinerburg, Maikop and Sotsi are some of the cities in which Greek schools were founded.

Russian writers were translated by Greek men of letters of the USSR, who had established contacts and communicated with writers and scholars from Greece. Within the framework of these contacts, P.Istratis (1928)and then

N. Kazantzakis, D.Glinos and K. Varnalis (1934) visited the Soviet Union.[17]

Tremendous significance was also placed on teacher training through the establishment of academies of pedagogy. Teacher training at such in a Krasnodar academy established in 1924 required four years' study.[18] In order to meet scholastic needs several books were compiled such as teaching manuals, readers, math manuals, grammar and spelling books, and anthologies. During the period from 1927 to 1937, some 126 books were written, of which 46 were penned directly in Greek. The others were translated. An important figure in all these efforts was Marina-Lvovna-Ritova, a Hellenist professor and interpreter-translator for the Greek language.

2. Greek education in the Ukraine

All we know about Greek education in Ukraine is that Greek schools operated in Kiev, Niezin, Kharkov, Lviv and Odessa.[19] Apart from the Greek school of Kiev, open in 1620, in the 17th century, the city of Niezin stood out for its Greek education and popular culture. The Greek School of K. Bouba and the rich Greek library were recognized in 1657 by imperial Ukase. In Niezin, Greeks built a church in 1679, where the mass was conducted in Greek. On its grounds, they built a school and boarding house for Greek children of the region.[20]

However, Greek letters were cultivated much earlier in the bosom of the Greek-Italian Academy of Kiev, as well as in schools of various monasteries.[21]

In Crimea, a primary school operated in 1760 under the auspices of the bishop of the area. It was attended by 200 pupils who followed a non-traditional school curriculum focused on the study of religious books.[22]

In Odessa, a Greek school operated with 72 pupils where Hatzibey village was in 1794.[23] That same year the Greek bishop Gabriel founded Saint Nicolas, Saint Aikaterini and Saint Trinity churches, the latter being the church of the founders of the Society of Friends.[24] The Greek tradesmen of Odessa founded in 1808 the Graeco-Russian Company of Securities, which in 1814-17 allocated 14.018 rubles to the Greek Trade School.[25]

Mariupol in the Sea of Azov was a centre of paramount importance for Greek education. Already in 1820, Greeks who had moved there from Crimea founded schools where a purist form of Greek was taught. When Russia promoted the policy of Pan-Slavism in 1880, Greek schools closed due to lack of teaching staff. In Mariupol, a centre of Hellenism, two Russian high schools were built, the Greek language started to fade with its vocabulary becoming all the poorer as it assimilated more Russian and Ukrainian words.

Brown writes in 1890 that "Russianization advances quickly and in three or four generations' time the Russian language will be established in the everyday life of Greeks…".[26]

In the end of the 19th century Mariupol, the 'city of the sea' (from the Latin word 'mare') or possibly the 'city of Virgin Mary' developed along with the Greek-speaking villages Sartana, Chemarlik, Karakouba, Volnovaha, Constantinupol, Yianisol, Yalta, Urzuf, as well as with villages of mixed populations of Greeks and Tartars, such as Stari Krim, Bessev, Mangoush, etc. Greeks were not passive receivers of the Pan-Slavic policy; they resisted it vigorously by enhancing Greek schools which had already begun to be established by the Ecumenical Patriarchate as of 1890.[27]

Nevertheless, Greek educators often had to change their names in order to survive and keep their job.[28] Thus, Triantafyllidis becomes Triantafyllov, Porfyros, Porfyrov, Krypidis Karypov.

After the Bolsheviks' victory, Greek education seems to rediscover its path. Lenin's revolutionary ideas on respecting the cultural identity of all nationalities living in the USSR offered the possibility of new schools, theatres and publishing houses in order to meet the needs of Greek-language education.

"…the number of Greek schools as well as teacher training for primary and secondary education constantly increased…"[29]

During the twenty-year period of 1917 to 1937, Greek literature grew exponentially. *Collectivistis*, a local newspaper, along with messages of socialistic ideology passed on to the Greek population plenty of other issues related to Greek history and culture.[30]

It is worth mentioning that in 1926, when Greek schools started functioning in an organized manner, the citizens of Mariupol claimed Greek as their mother tongue. Out of 93,739 citizens, some 82,193 claimed to be Greek-speaking.[31]

In 1938 schools, theatres, newspapers, publishing houses,… everything was shut down in the name of "simplifying" the country's national structure. This measure obviously weighed negatively on national minorities.[32] This simplification meant "liquidation of national minorities" and total Sovietization. These purges expanded all over the formerly known Soviet Union but were never fully accomplished because of the outbreak of the Second World War.

3. Greek education in Georgia and the South Caucasus

The Greek-Pontis of Georgia had all their courses given in Greek as long as they lived in Pontus. Their education remained the same after they moved into Georgia. However, in 1890-95, due to the establishment of the bilingual ministerial or state schools the use of Greek was restricted to history and language-specific courses, and thus Greek education faded.[33] All courses were taught in Russian, whereas teachers of Greek were chosen among the expatriates whose command of Greek was better.[34]

Out of 200 schools in Kars, 100 were Greek for a total of 75,000 Greek residents.

Schools were directed by the Ministry of Education. In Caucasus, the supervision of schools was assigned to a supreme supervisor and three general inspectors of higher education.[35] All educators participated in the general educational meetings of primary secondary and higher education establishments across Russia, during which various educational issues were discussed, such as teaching methods. These meetings were held on a regular basis and were often of two months' duration.[36]

In 1905, after the political changeover in Russia, matters were simplified; formalities, eliminated. Greek colonies all over the Caucasus acquired the status of official Greek communities whose main concern was to establish Greek schools.[37]

In Abhazia, there were 34 Greek schools in 1921-22 and 48 in 1925-26. The number of educators grew from 42 to 80.[38] In 1927, a Greek pedagogical school functioned in Sohum. In 1926, Greek schools all over Georgia were already operating in an organized way.[39]

During these years, a famous Greek pedagogue, Perikles Karchanidis, lived in Tyflis. One of his achievements was a bilingual (Greek-Russian) reader, approved by the Russian Ministry of Education.[40] The first Ponti grammar by Pantelis Melanofrydis entitled "Η εν Πόντω ελληνική γλώσσα" (*The Greek language in Pontus*) was also printed in Vatum in 1910.[41] Newspapers were carriers of Hellenism, thus enhancing the Greek consciousness, education and culture. Some of the most noteworthy are the "Εθνική Δράσις" (*National Action*) published in Vatum by A. Dimitriadis, "Αργοναύτης" (*Argonaut*) of Vatum, "Ελεύθερος Πόντος" (*Free Pontus*) Vatum, "Νέα Ζωή" (*New Life*) published by Passalidis and "Κομμουνιστής" (*Communist*) of Sohum[42], which after its sixth paper was named into "Κόκκινος Καπνάς" (*Red Tobacco Worker*).

4. Stalin's persecutions

After Lenin's death, on January 21, 1924, a battle on the ideological character of the revolution ensued between his main successors, Stalin and Trotsky.

Trotsky was an advocate of internationalization; whereas, Stalin supported the theory of socialism in only one country. Finally, Stalin prevailed and after removing all political adversaries, he imposed his personal dictatorship.[43]

The purges conducted by Stalin were not confined to the leading group of the communist party, but expanded also to scientific and other organizations, as well as to non-Russian nationals. The most affected were writers, teachers and all kinds of intellectual creators who were persecuted under the pretext of protecting people from the bourgeois formalism they supposedly promoted. As far as intellectuals of small communities are concerned, especially of "cosmopolitan Greeks", their fate was tragic. Following orders from above, equality before the law was violated and hatred grew against them. They were arrested and executed. Greek schools and churches were destroyed and in a short period nearly the entire Greek intelligentsia was exiled to Siberia and the

desert of Kazakhstan.[44] Those who kept their Greek citizenship paid a high price, being excluded from all posts, under the pretext of their having participated in espionage against the Soviet Union.

Despite the reactions of the Greek deputies and the rallies and referenda which took place in Athens in 1949,[45] transportation did not cease until 1951 when Greeks were transported from Georgia.[46] The policy against the Greek population throughout the Soviet Union was unified. Even in regions where the Greek element was not moved (e.g., Mariupol), policies of breaking the solid Greek society and its culture were directly or indirectly implemented.[47]

In his reference to the closing down of Greek schools Georgy Zorzoliani, head of a consultative body of the Georgian government on minority issues unfolds his challenging view whereby Greek schools were shut down because Greeks themselves did not wish to receive an exclusively Greek education since this would mean exclusion from society and higher education![48]

The Russian historian, Buchai, argues that the transportation of the Greek element was conducted by Stalin himself in order to reduce nationalistic tension within regions inhabited by Greek populations and remove non-reliable nationalities from the border areas.[49]

Nevertheless, apart from the demographic change brought about by persecutions conducted in Greek-speaking regions, the professional career of the Greeks was linked through threats to the change of their nationality. This policy of Stalin struck a heavy blow against the Greek people. It esentially deprived them of normal intellectual development. The most prolific representatives of the Greek intelligentsia were either silenced or exterminated.[50]

It was only on 14 November 1991 that the Supreme Soviet ensured the full restoration of the rights of Greeks who fell victims to Stalin's persecutions.[51]

5. Greek education in the post-Stalin period

Kruschov promoted free expression among scholars and intellectual creators and reduced censorship. Indicative of the liberalisation of the system

was the publication of Solzhenitsyn's novel *One day in the life of Ivan Denisovich*.[52] However, Kruschov's failure to reorgnise the economy led to his removal from office and his replacement by Brezhnev whose governing (especially in the early 1970s) was characterized by stagnation due to bureaucracy and dysfunction in areas like education.

After the 1989 reform the Soviet educational system had the following structure:[53]

1. **Pre-school education:** including nursery schools for babies up to 3 years' old and infant schools for infants up to 6 years' old.

2. **Unified 11-year polytechnic school:** divided in three cycles, basic primary school (classes 1-4), secondary semi-final school, which was compulsory (grades 5-9) and secondary final school (classes 10-11), comprising two cycles of professional or general education by selection.

After obtaining their certificate, 11th grade graduates could be enrolled in institutions of higher education. Nevertheless, those who did not wish to have a university education could follow professional training courses of one, two or three years.

The educational system with its curricula provides a good level of general education, initiating pupils into the arts, especially music and theatre. It enhanced their talents in out-of-school institutes and institutions, such as houses of culture, various associations, camps and sports activities.

The model of the "Soviet-type" school, based on the logic of the multi-faceted development of the personality of young people and the interconnection of teaching with production work (polytechnic education), applied until *perestroika*, also had its drawbacks, such as centralization and non-differentiation between curricula to the point that the latter would not correspond to the requirements of the Soviet economy. On the one hand, this model neglected personal output and the development of the pupil's creative competence. Yet, on the other, the absolute uniformity of its curricula brought about the leveling of cultural traits and traditions of peoples and nationalities living in the USSR.[54]

In May 1988, a national committee was formed with the aim of restructuring popular education as well as tracing a reform strategy.

Within the new reality shaped by the implementation of *perestroika*, a new, creative educational movement was developed, which laid on the table the educational principles of teaching and human/pupil-centred education. "The new educators" movement created a positive climate for the revival of the Soviet school by introducing the new pupil-centred teaching model. According to this theory, children are not just pupils who go to school to be taught from teachers, but also personalities whom teachers ought to treat with respect.

The manifesto[55] of the "new educators" in 1987 stated that:

"…it is a dire necessity that teachers be interested in the shaping of their pupils' personality…".

In 1989 the State Committee for Education and the Ministry of Popular Education of the Russian Federation published the basic curriculum which was divided in two sections:

1. Teaching material for the schools of the Republics.
2. Private courses for each Republic, according to its needs and national-cultural reality.

The common core curriculum consisted of the Russian language as *lingua franca*, Soviet literature, mathematics and social education.

Lessons of Greek and minority languages, in general, last two to three hours per week in public schools, are sometimes optional and rarely compulsory.

After 1981, the Ministry of Education of the USSR created a teaching department within the university of Krupsakya in Moscow, which was specialized in the "Greek and English languages". At the same time, hundreds of students at the Philosophical Schools of Lemonosov in Moscow, of St. Petersburg, of Kiev, Odessa, Simferopol, Mariupol, Krasnodar, Piatigorsk, Vatum, Typhlis, Ahaltsihe, study Greek language and literature to become teachers of Greek in the schools of their regions.

In primary and secondary education, there are schools where the grade in the Greek language is calculated in the grade-point average, but this is rarely the case. Most often, Greek is an optional third language and, as such, is not given a mark. However, it is worth mentioning that the Greek language is

taught in an organized manner in Saturday or Sunday schools of the Greek associations, with the support of Greek communities and the Greek state, which intervenes through various programmes.[56] The teaching of Greek in these areas is undertaken by self-taught teachers.

Over the last years an attempt has been made by the presidents of the Greek Associations to make Greek a compulsory second language in schools, at least in the areas inhabited by Greeks. The latest information is that the Ministries of Education of the coastal countries of the Euxine Sea are favourably disposed.

It is worth noting that Greek education has been widely diffused in societies, and many foreigners are interested in learning Greek, thus the number of pupils has increased.

In Georgia, Greek-language education is mainly in the hands of the Georgians who pursue their studies at the University of Typhlis with excellent records and activities. The Greek language is "in fashion" as was French in pre- and post-war Greece.

6. The Development of Greek education along the Black Sea Coast and the Greek state

A significant project, financially supported by the European Union and the Greek Ministry of Education, is 'Παιδεία Ομογενών' (*Greek Education Abroad*), assigned in 1997 to the University of Crete and co-coordinated by professor Michael Damanakis at the Department of Education. The project is related to Greek-language education of Greeks living abroad including research on Greek as a second and foreign language in primary and secondary education for Greeks living in America, Africa, Asia, Europe, Australia and, especially, in the Black Sea Zone.

This project allowed the registering of educational data, various problems encountered by Greek teachers, but also the pupils who learn Greek in the former Soviet Union.

The inventory of this data referred to countries and in particular regions inhabited by Greeks, that is the Azov Sea, Crimea, South Russia and Georgia.

Apart from this project of the Greek Ministry of Education, many other groups, institutions, universities from Greece are active in the Black Sea region. Remarkable teacher training and library enhancement projects, as well as alternative cultural programmes have been applied up to the present day by the University of Ioannina, the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (AUTH) and the "Iason" project, the School of Modern Greek of the AUTH, the department of Primary Education in Florina, the University of Athens and the THYESPA project, the Institute of Greek Culture, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the prefecture of Thessaloniki through the Centre for Research and Development of the Greek Culture of the Black Sea. Moreover, since its foundation in 1995 until today, the Council of Hellenes Abroad has been developing initiatives to assist schools and educators as part of other economic growth and health care projects in the coastal countries of the Black Sea.

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Chronologie Chypre

16 avril –31 octobre 2005

17 avril: Mehmet Ali Talat remporte « l'élection présidentielle» à Chypre nord, en zone d' occupation turque, (entité reconnue uniquement par la Turquie), par 55,6% des voix contre 22% des voix à Dervis Eroglu, chef du parti de l'unité nationale (UPB, nationaliste).

29 avril: Chypre a adhéré au mécanisme de change bis MCEII, conçu pour être l'antichambre de l'euro, que Nicosie souhaite adopter en 2008.

18 mai: La Cyprus Airways annonce un déficit de 86,3 millions de dollars en 2004 largement supérieur à celui de 2003, qui était de 47 millions.

30 juin: Ratification par la Chambre des représentants de la République de Chypre du projet de Constitution européenne par 30 voix contre 19 (AKEL) et une abstention.

29 juillet: La Turquie a signé le protocole étendant son accord d'union douanière aux dix nouveaux Etats de l'Union européenne, en précisant que ce geste n'impliquait pas la reconnaissance de la République de Chypre.

2 août: Le Premier ministre français Dominique de Villepin déclare à propos du refus de la Turquie de reconnaître Chypre: «Il ne me paraît pas concevable qu'un processus quelconque de négociation puisse s'ouvrir avec un pays qui ne reconnaîtrait pas chacun des membres de l'Union européenne».

14 août: Un avion Boeing 737 de la compagnie privée chypriote «Hélios» s'écrase près d'Athènes provoquant la mort de 121 personnes.

18 septembre: Le président Papadopoulos déclare à la tribune de l'ONU que tout progrès vers le règlement de la question chypriote sera difficile tant que l'occupation militaire de la partie nord n'aura pas cessé.

3 octobre: Ouverture des négociations d'adhésion de la Turquie à l'Union européenne, après l'approbation par les 25 et Ankara d'un cadre dans lequel l'UE demande «des efforts continus à la Turquie pour parvenir à un règlement global de la question chypriote dans le cadre de l'ONU» et «des progrès dans la normalisation des relations bilatérales entre la Turquie et tous les Etats membres de l'UE, y compris la République de Chypre».

6 octobre: Joseph Borrel, président du Parlement européen, en visite à Chypre insiste sur la nécessité «de relancer au plus vite la recherche d'une solution à Chypre».

12 octobre: Le comité pour une solution européenne à Chypre soutenu par un panel d'experts internationaux composé de huit professeurs et académiciens de sept pays a présenté au Parlement européen son plan pour «une solution durable» au problème de la division de Chypre.

16-19 octobre: première visite à Chypre du président de la République de Grèce Karolos Papapoulias.

28 octobre: Mehmet Ali Talat est reçu à Washington par Condoleeza Rice, secrétaire au département d'Etat.

Chronologie Grèce

16 avril –31 octobre 2005

19 avril: Le Parlement grec ratifie à une écrasante majorité (268 voix contre 17) le projet de Constitution européenne.

19-22 mai: Visite officielle aux Etats-Unis de Costas Caramanlis, qui est reçu le 20 par le président Bush

21 mai: La chanteuse Elena Paparizou remporte le 50ème concours de l'Eurovision de la chanson

22 mai: Décès à l'âge de 91 ans de Harilaos Florakis, président honoraire du parti communiste de Grèce (KKE)

12 juin: Le Parlement grec a adopté la question de confiance, qui avait été posée par le gouvernement Caramanlis (165 voix pour, 120 voix contre)

13 juillet: Inauguration d'un train de nuit rapide le «Filia-Dostluk (amitié en grec et en turc) express» qui doit réduire de 3 heures la liaison Thessalonique - Istanbul et couvrir la distance de 820 km entre ces deux villes en 11 heures et 30 minutes.

29 juillet: Manifestations à La Canée en l'honneur du compositeur d'origine crétoise Mikis Théodorakis, à l'occasion de son 80ème anniversaire.

16 août: Journée de deuil national après l'écrasement, le 14,près d'Athènes du Boeing 737 de la compagnie privée chypriote « Hélios » provoquant la mort de 121 personnes.

28-29 août: Visite officielle à Prague de Costas Caramanlis.

5 septembre: 50ème anniversaire du pogrom anti-grec d'Istanbul (75 églises saccagées et 5000 magasins pillés).

23 septembre: Visite à Paris de Costas Caramanlis, qui déclare que la Grèce est prête à s'engager dans l'Europe de la défense.

5 octobre: Le commissaire européen des affaires économiques Joaquin Almunia déclare que la situation des finances publiques grecques était « encore inquiétante »

25 octobre: La Cour de justice des Communautès européennes décide que l'appellation «feta» est réservée au seul fromage de brebis produit dans certaines régions de Grèce, aucun producteur d'autres pays ne pouvant plus s'en prévaloir.

RECENSIONS/BOOK REVIEWS

Speros Vryonis, Jr., the Mechanism of Catastrophe: The Turkish Pogrom of September 6-7, 1955, and the Destruction of the Greek Community of Istanbul, New York: greekworks.com Inc., 2005

Zaharias J. C. Prattas*

In the annals of historical writing, one would be hard pressed to find a book that has "the power to profoundly influence minds with its compelling weight and wisdom of its facts and arguments and with the movingly restrained passion of its compilation"[1]. Professor Speros Vryonis' massive and majestic work, ***The Mechanism of Catastrophe: The Turkish Pogrom of September 6-7, 1955, and the Destruction of the Greek Community of Istanbul,*** is such a book.

No reader of this work could emerge unmoved by its power of the marshalling of the facts of the pogrom that destroyed the Greek Community of Constantinople-Istanbul – a community which traced its roots to its finding by the Megareans several thousands of years ago. Though the Greek population in Istanbul had decreased from about 300,000 in 1922 to about 100,000 in 1955, the Greek community persevered, despite exceptionally trying and difficult circumstances, and managed to remain vibrant and robust. Regrettably, the tragedy of the September Events, is practically unknown to the western world, historians and lay people alike. The book, coming on the fiftieth anniversary of the events of that September night, comes to fill that void.

Working in 16 languages, including Turkish, Arabic, several Slavic languages, English, French, German and Greek, Professor Vryonis has used original documents from the secret archives of Turkey (some 30,000 pages) and primary sources to compose his compelling work. Included in his sources are secret, but surviving materials from the mostly destroyed archives

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of the perfunctory, but secret initial trials following the events, as well as from the more "public" trials held in the 1960s.

Right from the outset, Professor Vryonis treats us to a most captivating account of the meticulous planning and synchronized execution of the horrible events of that September. With every word on every page, one is immediately disabused of any notions that those events materialized out of thin air or that they were spontaneous. The scrupulous analysis that follows irrefutably and persuasively argues that the motivations behind this government-hatched and executed plan had at its core the following two objectives: firstly, the destruction of the Greek Community of Istanbul and secondly, at the urging of the British, the creation of a pretext or an "incident" that could be utilized by Turkey to make a claim in Cyprus.

It will be recalled that following the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, Cyprus, though possessing a predominantly Greek population (80%), had been placed under British protection in 1878 by the Cyprus Convention. Following the outbreak of the First World War, with Turkey siding with Germany and Austria-Hungary, Cyprus was annexed by Britain. Any remaining vestiges or ambitions that Turkey might have had on Cyprus were renounced with the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923.

Cyprus, having suffered centuries of domination, occupation or influence by countless forces and powers and witnessing the crumbling of colonialism in the twentieth century, began a drive for self-determination. Britain vigorously resisted such manifestations and Greece attempted to bring this issue to the United Nations sensing that that was the only option to resolve the impasse. According to Professor Vryonis this attempt by Greece to internationalize the plight of the Greek Cypriots "constituted the turning-point that would lead to Turkey's decision to make serious claims on Cyprus" (page 30), even though it had relinquished all rights with the Treaty of Lausanne.

Fearing that any internationalization of the Cyprus issue might find allies at the UN, and in view of the looming Suez crisis and the impending loss of British hegemony in Egypt, Britain was determined to thwart any autonomy attempts since Cyprus became an ever increasingly vital part of Britain's imperial plans in the Middle East. She therefore began to energetically court Turkey to make claims on Cyprus, despite Turkey's initial reluctance having

declared through its Foreign Minister that "Cyprus was not a Turkish issue", (p 31). As the author states, "Macmillan prevailed upon Turkey to alter its policy on Cyprus and make vigorous representations as to its claims and rights on the island." (p 84)

As Professor Vryonis further points out "the crisis leading to the pogrom was not fated by an ostensibly long history of territorial truncation of the once-extensive Ottoman empire that modern Turkey felt obliged to reserve" (p 30). Rather, it was "a reaction to the external dynamic of British imperial concern over and fear of, the success of Greek Cypriots bringing their cause" (p 30) to the UN. It was therefore in pursuit of its own "imperial concerns" that the British urged the Turkish government to become "involved" in Cyprus. But having relinquished all rights, how was Turkey to become re-engaged? It was widely suggested that by manufacturing the appropriate "cause" or "incident" Turkey would be able to lay her claim on the island. That "incident" was the well planned and equally well executed pogrom that is the focus of this book.

What was the triggering factor of the pogrom? Very briefly, the irrefutable facts that emerge are that the Turkish government using its own agents placed some explosive devices in the Turkish Consulate in Thessaloniki, Greece. Why was this significant? For two principal reasons: firstly, the Consulate was ostensibly on Greek soil – even though the land of diplomatic missions enjoys immunity in international law — and secondly and even more cogently for Turkey, included in the Consulate complex was the house where modern Turkey's founder Kemal Attaturk was allegedly born. In the minds of the planners, the combination of these two factors would prove most influential in helping to fuel what was to follow. Firstly, since the triggering "event" would "occur" ostensibly on Greek soil, Greece would be easily "blamed" in international public opinion, thus blunting any internationalization of the Cyprus problem. Secondly, and even more importantly for the planners, the emotional charge that this "incident" of "sacrilege" of Attaturk's birthhouse would engender in the Turkish population, would almost certainly lead to a "spontaneous" demand for revenge by the Turks against its Greek populations in Istanbul and Izmir (Smyrni).

According to the plan as revealed in the book, the Turks were to use the pretext of the explosive device to "demonstrate" against the Greeks in

Istanbul and Izmir and even Cyprus. But such "demonstrations" can never be fully "controlled" and the subsequent destruction told the tale. As part of the plan and at the suggestion of US CIA Director Allen Dulles who was in Turkey for a meeting at the time, the Turkish authorities initially blamed this "event" on the communists and other anarchical elements; in other words, on the "usual suspects". However, the facts kept on interfering with the "official' version of events – as facts have a wont to do – and it soon became apparent that it was ludicrous to "blame" the communists simply because they did not have the numbers or the means to carry out such a well executed, wide-ranging and thorough plan. Of course the initial trials were farcical even to the most ardent supporters of the event and it took five years before the real perpetrators, the Menderes government, were put on trial and the Turkish courts handing out death sentences to Prime Minister Menderes, who was the main instigator behind this plan, and some of the closest and highest members of his government.

Within a few hours on that fateful September night forty-five communities were destroyed and pillaged and numerous churches were defiled and desecrated. And such violence was not confined merely to property destruction. Persons of both the Greek and Armenian communities were physically abused and injured, including instances of gang rapes being perpetrated. Passers-by that were thought to be Greek were ordered to strip by the Turkish gangs to determine whether they were circumcised and if not, the perpetrators were more than willing to perform the rite on the spot with knives and other blunt instruments all the while disregarding the pain, suffering and humiliation suffered by the unfortunate captives.

With careful and meticulous detail, Professor Vryonis painstakingly analyzes the events of that fateful night employing a plethora of credible and unassailable sources. He divides his narrative of the destruction into neighbourhoods – just like the perpetrators did – and then with eyewitness accounts from Turks, Armenians, Jews and Greeks, he lays out the facts for all to see and judge for themselves. To these are added the newspaper reports of the day, including Turkish, Greek, British, French and American news organizations. And as if these were not sufficient, he also includes the various diplomatic dispatches from the British, American and of course the Greek diplomats who were themselves on the scene of the destruction, eyewitnesses whose descriptions no matter how "cleansed" in diplomatic language,

nevertheless still have the power to evoke the sense of the tragedy that occurred that night.

With surgical precision, Professor Vryonis unravels the well-planned and carefully calculated plot of the Turkish government. He ably reconstructs in flowing and persuasive prose the historical record from a multitude of original sources by way of fusion and synthesis with the larger view of events rather than as a dichotomy of disparate and disjointed facts of a local incident. From this perspective, the book is not merely a detailed review of the actual events and its inevitable, paralyzing and wanton destruction of the Greek community of Istanbul. Instead it becomes an absorbing commentary of the cultural, political and ideological implications within a larger context, with reverberations continuing to be felt to this day, especially in Turkey's attempt to join the European Union. To quote from the text:

> *"At the practical level of the regional politics of the time, the pogrom is also a prism that refracts the internal difficulties of the ten-year Menderes government, in which are clearly discernable all the basic issues, both internal and external, that so beset and characterize Turkish society today…. These issues are largely the same, albeit much more magnified, as are the current issues of US foreign policy."*
>
> (p xxxv)

Why has Professor Vryonis written this book, a book that has been in the making over several decades? A partial answer is given by the author in his Prologue:

> *"What had, early on in my academic career, astonished me was the readiness, not only of the US government and State Department, but also of academics to prostitute the truth for money, recognition, and/or political acceptance. Despite the argument that one can never know the "real truth", such moral relativism opens the door to arbitrariness, dictatorship, and the violation of any and all forms of justice."*
>
> (p xxxv)

It seems that what infuriated him most was the "attempts of so-called

revisionists to demonstrate that there was no Holocaust or massacre of the Armenians – just to name the two most egregious examples – are enough to demonstrate that *convenience is often far more powerful than truth*." (p *xxxv*, emphasis added)

It is worthwhile remembering that at the same time that the pogrom was being carried out in Turkey, America lived its own intense period of anticommunism and "a McCarthyism that diverted the country from its internal enforcement of civil and political rights at a time when segregation, both legal and cultural, was defended by a significant portion of an American electorate that accepted even the most flagrant violations of these rights within its own borders". (p 27)

Professor Vryonis is the last of a breed of scholars who pursues truth with relentless passion never compromising integrity for political or self-serving reasons or for motives of not wanting to discomfort the complacent and those seeking favours. He follows truth wherever it may lay – which is the mark of the true historian, and true scholar – and uncompromisingly refuses to serve any other agendas of questionable merit.

In reading his book, one realizes the sad fact that even after the destruction, those whose properties and very lives were destroyed were left alone by everyone in the international community, without any reparations or amends, ostensibly sacrificed on the altar of the geopolitics of the region. Fully accepting such a premise, Greece also readily alined itself with this British and American view and downplayed the tragedy and its fateful consequences.

The progression and the unfolding of the events by an almost minute-by-minute account by Professor Vryonis, demonstrate beyond any doubt of the complicity of the Turkish government in the planning and execution of the plan. Professor Vryonis treats us to intrigues and backroom planning by the ruling political party and its membership, including the machinations of the government itself and its party apparatchiks. Woven in his narrative is not only the social and economic catastrophe of this very vibrant and dynamic Greek community, but also its commercial and cultural denouement attributable solely to that night of gratuitous devastation.

The author weaves in absorbing detail the story of the destruction of a

community that existed in Constantinople for over two millennia, and the continued impact today, e.g., in the Cyprus situation and the bilateral relations between Greece and Turkey.

> *"Although the pogrom of September 6-7, 1955 occurred half a century ago, its legacy is caught up, in a larger web of regional and international interests. This web is, indeed, the key to understanding important parts of this ongoing history".*
>
> (p 571)

This story is truly worthy of the ancient *dramatourgous* (playwrights) as the author uses not only Greek but also non-Greek observers, describes in stark detail the destruction, brings to light heretofore unknown facts, reveals secrets kept in hidden archives, and exposes concealed details of the tragedy. Moreover, everything is recounted by a careful and caring author who has used his archival sources with wit and wisdom to weave a tapestry of wanton destruction and international intrigue. *The Mechanism of Catastrophe* is a fascinating read and a must have for all those who are interested not only on the actual events, but also on the broader implications of the eastern Mediterranean and the geopolitical manoeuvrings of the traditional powers who have had a large say in the region and, of course, the only remaining superpower, the United States.

As if the verbal descriptions were not enough to convey the tragedy, the book is amply illustrated with some 90 pages of photographs taken by the official photographer of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Dimitrios Kaloumenos. Risking limb and life, the photographer ventured out among the destruction capturing for eternity not only the senselessness and magnitude of the destruction but also its ferociousness and totality. These mute but moving photographs speak volumes of what transpired that dark night of September 1955.

This book took years to make as its length (close to 700 pages) and rich and painstaking detail readily attest. At the same time, the strict objectivity of the historian and the unemotional presentation of the facts are never surrendered for partisan, prurient, political or distorted purposes. Professor Vryonis insists on presenting eyewitness testimony from a large array of persons who were there and witnessed the events from their particular perch

and perspective, thus constructing for the reader a more compelling picture of the truth of the events. Though described in a calm, collected but exacting and rigorous manner, Speros Vryonis nevertheless conveys the utter futility of the acts and the sense of despair and resignation on the faces of the victims of this atrocity.

The book is unquestionably the definitive study of the September Events by a world renowned historian and scholar and a great contribution not only to Greek and Turkish studies but it is hoped that it will serve as the impetus for more detailed studies of Asia Minor and the surrounding region. It is also a significant contribution to the geopolitics and Greek-Turkish relations of the area, the evolution of the Cyprus problem and the long and continuous Greek presence in Asia Minor, the Black Sea and the rest of the region.

In the end, if we are to heed the admonitions of the author, the book is not only about the "larger issue of slanting and distorting history to fit various political and personal agendas, but about distortion of truth as an immoral act in and of itself….. It is, above all, a search to ascertain basic truths, not the 'truths' of political convenience." (p *xxxv*)

NOTES

1. The quotation is most fitting for the Vryonis book. It comes from the review by Gregory Copley in *Defense and Foreign Affairs Strategic Policy* (July 2005), of the book, "An International Relations Debacle: The UN Secretary-General's Mission of Good Offices in Cyprus 1999-2044" by Claire Palley.

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